# IMAGO MUSICAE II

1985



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#### IMAGO MUSICAE



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#### The Music Paintings of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo

#### David Gramit

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The richly carved and painted ceiling of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo has excited the admiration of viewers since the time of its construction in the mid-twelfth century. The twelfthcentury historian Hugo Falcandus, describing the splendors of the chapel, wrote: »Truly, an elegant variety of carvings and a wonderful variety of pictures, and everywhere the splendor of radiant gold, adorn the level of the highest decorated heights.«1 A more elaborate contemporary account, that of Theophanes Kerameus, who described the ceiling in a sermon delivered in the chapel, will be discussed below. It was not until the 1890s, however, with the work of Alexis Pavlovskij, that iconographical study of the ceiling began in earnest.<sup>2</sup> Since then, and especially since the publication of a complete series of photographs in 1950,3 the ceiling has attracted the attention of a number of scholars, several of whom have noted its rich variety of paintings of musicians and dancers. Several musicologists, too, have been aware of the ceiling and have discussed parts of it; however, a thorough study of the musical iconography of the Cappella Palatina has yet to be made. Such an examination, in addition to providing an important record of Islamic musical instruments at an important point of contact between Islamic and Christian civilizations, provides insight into several aspects of its creators' conception of music. Finally, a study of the chapel's music paintings reveals them to be an integral part of the program of both the ceiling and the chapel as a whole.

A brief sketch of the historical background is necessary to explain how Islamic paintings came to crown a chapel decorated with Byzantine mosaics and built by a Norman king. Sicily, which had been part of the Byzantine Empire, was partially occupied by Moslems in 827 A. D., and was eventually taken over completely. With the rise of the Fatimid dynasty in North Africa in 909, Sicily too passed to Fatimid rule. By the latter part of the eleventh century, writes a modern historian, "speaking generally, an organized Christian Church had ceased to exist in Sicily." Beginning in 1061, though, the island was again conquered, this time by Count Roger of

2 See Alexis Pavlovskij, Décoration des plafonds de la Chapelle Palatine, in: Byzantinische Zeitschrift 2 (1893), pp. 361-412.

<sup>1 »</sup>supremi vero fastigii tabulatum insignis elegantia celature et miranda picture varietas passimque radiantis auri splendor exornant.« Hugo Falcandus, Epistola ad Petrum Panormitane ecclesie thesaurarium«, in: Giovanni Battista Siragusa, ed., Fonti per la storia d'Italia (Rome 1897), p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> Ugo Monneret de Villard, Le pitture musulmane al soffitto della Cappella Palatina in Palermo (Rome 1950).

<sup>4</sup> David C. Douglas, The Norman Achievement, 1050-1100 (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969), p. 157.

Normandy, soon to be King Roger I. Palermo fell to Roger in 1072, and by 1091 all of Sicily was in Norman hands.

However, the Norman conquest by no means ended Islamic influence in Sicily. On the contrary, Roger and his successors showed what David C. Douglas has called »a remarkable tolerance« toward the Moslems.<sup>5</sup> In fact, the new rulers went considerably beyond mere tolerance: they were fluent readers and writers of Arabic, and many of their highest officials were Moslems. Ibn Jubayr, a Spanish Moor who visited Sicily in 1184, during the reign of William II, wrote that

Under these circumstances Islamic artists continued to flourish. As late as the thirteenth century, Emperor Frederick II (1215–1250) favored and encouraged Arab art in Sicily. Not surprisingly, then, surviving monuments of the Norman period show a mixture of Romanesque, Byzantine, and Islamic characteristics. The ceiling of the Cappella Palatina, built during the reign of Roger II († 1154), is only one example among many, in the minor arts and literature as well as in building and painting, of Islamic art in Norman Sicily.

The ceiling itself covers the two side aisles and the central nave of the chapel, in three separate sections. It is built of wood, which was then painted. Over the side aisles the construction is fairly simple - a series of long, narrow recesses rounded at each end, parallel to each other and perpendicular to the length of the chapel - but in the central nave the cornice is broken up into a complex repeated pattern of many small panels and recesses, and the ceiling proper is composed of a long series of rosettes separated by stalactite-like wooden projections. The paintings, which include a wide variety of figurative and decorative elements, including Arabic expressions of good will, are executed in brilliant reds, golds, and blues. Originally, at least part of the ceiling could be viewed to advantage from a box for the royal party located in the north wall and now bricked in. From the floor, little is visible except the brilliant color, but as we have seen, the effect was sufficient to induce the admiration of contemporaries. In the centuries since their completion, the paintings have of course deteriorated; in addition, many panels were repainted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the side aisles in particular, only relatively small sections of the original paintings remain. In the main ceiling the damage has been less extensive, although a number of panels have been repainted. Some of the new paintings are clearly unrelated to the original ceiling, but others depict in a later style very similar scenes, and these may derive from the scenes they replaced.

The subjects of the paintings include animals (including harpies, birds of prey, lions, and others both actual and mythical), scenes of battle and of the hunt, drinking men and women in large numbers, a wide variety of musicians, and a number of other less frequently appearing subjects. Although no musicians at all are found in the rosettes of the central ceiling, the remaining original sections of both side aisles contain musicians, and musicians and dancers are among the most frequent motifs on the borders of the central ceiling. I have included a catalogue

<sup>5</sup> Douglas (footnote 4), p. 201.

<sup>6</sup> Abu 'l-Husayn Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Jubayr, The Travels of Ibn Jubayr, trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst (London 1952), p. 341.

<sup>7</sup> Ernst Kühnel, The Minor Arts of Islam, trans. Katherine Watson (Ithaca/New York 1971), p. 9.

<sup>8</sup> The precise date is a matter of some controversy. For a summary of the issues, see Annabelle Simon-Cahn, Some Cosmological Imagery in the Decoration of the Palatine Chapel in Palermo (Ph. D. diss. Columbia University 1978), pp. 16–21.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

of the ceiling's musicians in the Appendix; the discussion below seeks to give an overview of the paintings, as well as to examine more closely a number of their features.

The instrumentalists depicted on the ceiling include both men and women. Although determining the sex of some of the figures is difficult, women appear to be the more numerous; many are recognizable by their curled side locks, a feature found on women in Arabic painting as early as the ninth century, on dancers at the palace at Samarra (fig. 1). Some of the men wear turbans, and the women wear a variety of headdresses. Some figures are given haloes, here a decorative rather than a religious ornament. Musicians of both sexes are dressed in loose robes split below the waist, some of them quite elaborate; the same style of dress is worn by many of the ceiling's numerous non-musicians, most often depicted holding or drinking from goblets (fig. 2 on the left). Except when associated with dancers, the musicians are almost invariably seated with legs crossed, usually with one knee raised, on the ground or on low cushions.

Such well-dressed musicians, often depicted, as here, in finery as splendid as that of the revelers they accompany, were a common genre in Islamic art of the period. As early as the Syrian frescoes of Qasr al-Hayr al-Gharbî (ca. 730 A. D.), music and the hunt – two of the most enjoyable royal prerogatives – had been associated with one another (fig. 3), and by the time of the Cappella Palatina, the genre of music as a royal pleasure was widespread. Like the Syrian fresco, the paintings in the Cappella Palatina frequently juxtapose separate scenes of such apparently contrasting activities; the link between them is their function as pastimes befitting – and, not incidentally, expressing the wealth and prowess of – the ruler and his court.

The chapel is unique among surviving examples because of the monumentality and comprehensiveness with which it treats the theme, but numerous parallels survive in the minor arts. Fig. 4, an Egyptian ivory frame (now in Berlin) from the eleventh or twelfth century, is a striking example illustrating many of the same motifs on a more typically modest scale: over a delicate background of stylized vegetation appears a series of scenes of hunters, revelers, and musicians playing a variety of instruments. A number of distinctly different treatments of musical subjects appear among the paintings of the Cappella Palatina, but almost all are best understood as variants of this genre.

The instruments these musicians are playing have attracted most of the attention of the art historians who have discussed the music paintings, <sup>10</sup> and several musicologists have dealt with some of these instruments briefly; <sup>11</sup> however, none has described the entire range of instruments depicted. In view of the uniqueness of the chapel, both as the most extensive surviving pictorial record of Islamic music of the period and as incontrovertible evidence of that tradition's contact with Europe, such a description is plainly warranted. Most of the instruments appear several times on the ceiling, but despite this repetition, the variety of instruments depicted is impressive. Among surviving medieval sources showing the influence of Islamic culture, only the later Cantigas manuscript depicts a more diverse collection of instruments. <sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See also Richard Ettinghausen's discussion of the painting in his Arab Painting (Geneva 1962), pp. 34f.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, Monneret de Villard (footnote 3), pp. 38f., and Simon-Cahn (footnote 8), pp. 83f.

<sup>11</sup> See Henry George Farmer, Islam (= Musikgeschichte in Bildern, vol. 3, fasc. 2, Leipzig 1966), pp. 58f.; Werner Bachmann, The Origins of Bowing and the Development of Bowed Instruments up to the Thirteenth Century, trans. Norma Deane (London 1969), p. 31; Kathi Meyer-Baer, Music of the Spheres and the Dance of Death (Princeton 1970), pp. 88f.; and Tilman Seebass, Musikdarstellung und Psalterillustration im früheren Mittelalter, 2 vols. (Bern 1973), vol. 1, pp. 24, 27, 47f., and 172.

<sup>12</sup> El Escorial, Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo, Ms. b. I. 2. Facsimile edition, La Musica de las Cantigas de Santa María del Rey Alfonso el Sabio, ed. Higini Anglès (= Biblioteca Central, Publicaciones de la sección de música 19, Barcelona 1964).

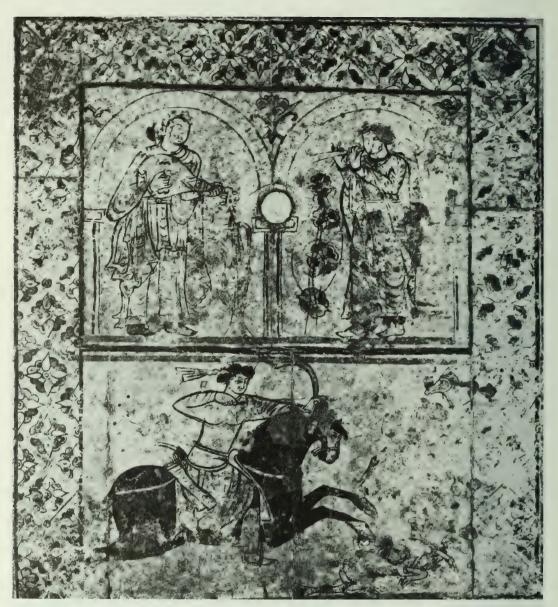


Fig. 3



Fig. 4

The instrument occurring most frequently in the paintings is the 'ud, the Arabic lute. By the time of the Cappella Palatina the 'ud was the pre-eminent instrument of the Islamic world, and description and praise of the 'ud were common subjects of Sicilian Arabic poetry, 13 so its frequent appearance is not surprising. Although the instruments share the same basic form (seen as well in the older instrument in fig. 3) – a rounded body meeting a tapered neck without a break, and a pegbox distinct from the neck - details of the instrument vary widely (see, for example, figs. 5-7). The bodies of the instruments vary from almost circular (fig. 6) to quite narrow (fig. 7), and the pegbox may curve back from the neck or be placed at various sharp angles to it. In only a few of the paintings is a plectrum visible (fig. 5), but the players' hands are usually positioned as if to hold one. Whether the widely spaced pairs of lines representing strings (three in fig. 6 and four each in figs. 5 and 7) are double courses or single strings is ambiguous; that the artists were little concerned with such technical details is further suggested by the impossible angles in which the strings are shown (see especially fig. 6) and the arbitrary number of pegs. Clearly, the artists were more concerned with communicating the idea of a musician with an 'ud than with providing a detailed diagram of the instrument. The same holds true for all the instruments depicted in the chapel.14

Still, the lutes are shown consistently enough to make a few observations possible. Round sound holes of the kind later standard on the 'ud are not infrequent, but long, narrow holes flanking the strings, similar to those found on modern violins, are even more common. Another consistent difference from the later 'ud is the form of the neck, which in the Cappella Palatina can frequently be distinguished from the body only by a band of contrasting color running across the instrument. A comparison of the instruments of the chapel with the 'ud as depicted in a







Fig. 5

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

13 See Ignazio di Matteo, Antologia di poeti Arabi Siciliani, in: Archivio storico per la Sicilia 1 (1935), pp. 95-133.

<sup>14</sup> Farmer's observations, in particular (footnote 11), should be read with this in mind. He frequently reads into the paintings more – with regard to precise identification of instruments and structural details – than either the condition or the intention of the painting would seem to warrant.

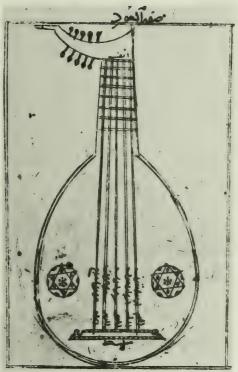






Fig. 9

fourteenth century theoretical treatise (fig. 8) makes these differences clear. Some of the variation in these instruments is certainly attributable to the stylistic conventions of the painters, but the paintings also suggest – as the more detailed illustrations of the Cantigas manuscript make clear<sup>15</sup> – the rich variety of shapes and sizes in which instruments of the 'ud family were known in the Middle Ages.

Instruments of the long-necked lute family also appear in the Cappella Palatina, although less frequently then the 'ud. Instruments of this type are found in a vast number of forms, and given the lack of detail of these paintings, a more precise identification would be uncertain, at best. <sup>16</sup> The bodies of the instruments in the Cappella are usually slightly waisted, and they most often end in a straight edge, to which the long narrow neck is perpendicular; the pegbox is often indistinct from the neck (*fig. 9*). A very similar instrument, played with a clearly visible plectrum, is among the very closely related paintings, perhaps by some of the same artists, on the ceiling of the Cathedral of Cefalù, also in Sicily (*fig. 10*). <sup>17</sup> As with the 'ud, the exact shapes and details of these instruments vary, but the basic form is rather constant.

<sup>15</sup> See footnote 12, especially folios 54, 104, and 162.

<sup>16</sup> See Richard G. Campbell, Zur Typologie der Schalenlanghalslaute (= Sammlung musikwissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen 47, Baden-Baden and Strasbourg 1968), for a large number of modern examples. Farmer (footnote 11) identifies the instrument as a rubāb, but this seems uncertain at best from the evidence of the paintings.

<sup>17</sup> These paintings, which also include players of the 'ud and psaltery as well as dancers, deserve further study. See Ingamaj Beck, Le pitture islamiche nel duomo di Cefalù, in: Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia (Institutum Romanum Norvegiae) 6 (1975), pp. 115f.



Fig. 10

Closely related to these lute-instruments is the rabāb. The paintings of these instruments in the Cappella Palatina are of particular interest since, to my knowledge, they are the oldest surviving representations of the rabāb to place it in the context of Arabic courtly music. As Werner Bachmann has shown, the instrument and the technique of bowing were known in the Islamic world as early as the first half of the tenth century; <sup>18</sup> illustrations of it, however, are quite rare until considerably later. The earliest depictions of the technique are found instead in a tenth-century Spanish manuscript containing the commentary of Beatus on the Apocalypse. <sup>19</sup> Examples in Islamic sources are found only long after this time, and none apparently survive which antedate the Cappella Palatina. Bachmann discusses the rabāb as depicted in the Cappella,

<sup>18</sup> Bachmann (footnote 11), pp. 24-27.

<sup>19</sup> Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. Hh 58, fol. 127. See Bachmann (footnote 11) for a reproduction (pl. 1) and a discussion (pp. 29f.).



Fig. 11



Fig. 13



Fig. 12



Fig. 14



Fig. 15

but he nonetheless states inexplicably that »it is only from the thirteenth century on that we find isolated illustrations of bowed instruments in the work of Islamic artists. . . . «<sup>20</sup> The pictorial record, however, actually starts in the mid-twelfth century, with the numerous rabāb players of the Cappella Palatina.

As shown in the ceiling paintings, the rabāb is quite similar in shape to the 'ud, although the neck is generally longer and narrower in proportion to the body, and the pegbox is inevitably curved rather than straight. Two or three strings or courses are the rule, and pegs are rarely clear. Just how closely the instrument is related to the lute-instruments is made clear by one of the paintings (fig. 11), which shows a rabāb like the others in the chapel (for example, figs. 2 and 12) being played on the knee without a bow, along with an 'ud. The bow, when present, is deeply curved and held in an overhand position. Whether bowed or not, the instrument is held on the left knee and fingered with the left hand.

The final group of stringed instruments in the Cappella Palatina are members of the harp and psaltery family. With the exception of a single triangular harp-psaltery – an interesting problem to which I shall return – the instruments of this type in the Cappella are all rectangular psalteries held diagonally across the chest by the left hand and plucked with a plectrum in the right (figs. 13 and 14). In contrast to the rabāb paintings, those of the psaltery can be identified as part of a continuing iconographical tradition: woodcarvings of such instruments survive from eleventh-century Egypt (fig. 15), and the Cefalù Cathedral paintings already mentioned include the rectangular psaltery as well.<sup>21</sup> Among the later examples, the Cantigas manuscript is a particularly detailed source.<sup>22</sup> As depicted in the Cappella Palatina, the instrument is sometimes

<sup>20</sup> Bachmann (footnote 11), p. 27.

<sup>21</sup> The woodcarvings are now in the Museum for Islamic Art in Cairo; see Farmer (footnote 11), pp. 50f. On Cefalù Cathedral, see Beck (footnote 17), pl. IIIb.

<sup>22</sup> See footnote 12 above, folios 96° and 260.



Fig. 16

richly decorated. As figs. 13 and 14 show, the number of strings varies, and a large central sound hole may or may not be present. In fig. 13, the plectrum shows quite clearly.

Figs. 16 and 17 show examples of the only wind instrument to appear on the ceiling, accompanied by the most common of the several percussion instruments shown. The wind instrument appears as little more than a long, thin tube; in the more deteriorated paintings, it is barely visible. Henry George Farmer's identification of the instrument as the qasaba, or end-blown flute, seems the most likely choice.<sup>23</sup> However, the presence on several of the instruments of a small bell similar to that of an English horn (e.g., fig. 28, upper left) suggests that at least in these cases the painters may have intended to depict a reed instrument. The drum that sometimes



Fig. 17

appears with this instrument has an oblong head, and is held on the left leg. The right hand plays the instrument with a stick which is sometimes visibly curved, and the left hand is raised above the drum's head, a position suggesting that it was used to sound subsidiary rhythms. Although drums are by no means an uncommon motif in Islamic musical iconography, this particular type of drum and this manner of playing it seem to be unique to the Cappella Palatina.

The paintings include several other percussion instruments, more common in Islamic art than the oblong drum, but appearing much less frequently here. A simple round frame drum appears twice, both times associated with dancers (fig. 18), and an hourglass-shaped drum is also found, painted in sharp profile, as if to emphasize its characteristic shape. Finally, some of the musicians play a simple and very ancient idiophone (fig. 19): pairs of clappers held in both hands, depicted along with a variety of other instruments. They, too, are sometimes associated with dancers.



Fig. 18

Like the instrumentalists, dancers appear several times and in rather standardized poses. Fig. 18 shows a single dancer accompanied by a man playing a frame drum at her right, and one with a wind instrument to her left; other dancers occur either singly or in groups of two or four, often with associated instrumentalists – the 'ud player in fig. 7 is one of a group of four dancers. These paintings are late representatives of one of the most persistent traditions in Arabic art: in several respects the resemblance of the dancer in fig. 18 to the dancers from Samarra (fig. 1) is striking. The draping of the clothing is the clearest similarity, but the use of objects at the dancers' feet to fill space and the long veils (draped over the neck in the earlier example, but held in hand in the later) should also be noted. The contrasting use of the veils points out the greatest difference between the two paintings, a difference that holds true for all the dancers in the chapel: the painters of the chapel gave their dancers a strong sense of motion. The dancer swings her veils through



Fig. 19

the air rather than letting them hang limply, and her twisted body and the position of her legs contribute further to the impression of movement; her right foot, in fact, has stepped out of the frame of the picture. Only a few of the paintings of instrumentalists convey a similar sense of motion.

Annabelle Simon-Cahn notes the large number of instruments represented on the ceiling, calling it »an important document for the history of medieval music«, one that indicates the »presence on European soil« of a great many instruments.<sup>24</sup> Although the former statement is certainly true, the latter must be considered somewhat more cautiously: we have seen that many of the music paintings belong to established genres of Islamic art, and even in the case of the rabāb, which is not known from other contemporary examples, the uniformity with which it is

<sup>24</sup> Simon-Cahn (footnote 8), p. 83.

painted suggests that it may have been a standard subject, although a less common one. In addition to the problem of discovering the extent to which these genre paintings approximated the musical world actually known to the artists, we are faced with the problem of the origin of the artists themselves. Were they Sicilian Moslems, or did Roger bring in outside artists as he had for the chapel's Byzantine mosaics? If so, where did they come from? The solution to the first problem seems fairly clear: true, the instruments are not painted with consistent and careful attention to structural detail, but neither are they highly stylized or otherwise distorted; furthermore, they are for the most part held in natural playing positions. With one exception, discussed below, there is nothing to suggest that the artists were unfamiliar with the instruments they painted. The second problem – the origin of the artists – is more difficult, and any attempt to solve it demands a consideration of the style of the paintings.

Although the individual paintings vary considerably from one another, all share a number of common features. Their lack of linear perspective gives them a distinctly two-dimensional quality, to which the solid backgrounds and careful attention to symmetrical construction also contribute. Empty spaces are frequently filled in with bowls of fruit, vegetation, or vases, some containing flowers. To help give the impression of motion, the robes of the dancers are draped in highly stylized swirls.

Scholars have drawn a number of various conclusions from the style of the paintings. In a 1942 study, Richard Ettinghausen took the paintings as the prime surviving example of Fatimid painting, and they have been accepted by a number of scholars as essentially Fatimid in style.<sup>25</sup> André Grabar concluded from an analysis of a painting of a church on the ceiling that the artist was neither Christian nor Sicilian.<sup>26</sup> We will see from another panel, however, that at least one of the artists had some familiarity with some Western traditions. Ugo Monneret de Villard, citing a number of stylistic similarities between Abbasid art, including that of Samarra, and the Cappella Palatina, argues for Mesopotamian influence.<sup>27</sup> Finally, in a later book Ettinghausen suggests as a »very real possibility« the influence of Tunisia, where the Normans had also established sovereignty. He admits, however, that the identity of the artists cannot be established with certainty.<sup>28</sup>

If the origin of the artists who decorated the chapel cannot be fixed, we cannot be absolutely certain that the instruments they depicted were in use in Roger's Sicily. However, in view of the adoption of Arab ways by the Norman rulers and the concern of Sicilian Arabic poetry with music, it seems quite likely that even if the artists were not Sicilian, they painted instruments that would have been well known on the island. The similar paintings of Cefalù Cathedral and the similar array of instruments depicted on ivories of Sicilian manufacture further strengthen this supposition.<sup>29</sup>

Interesting though the instruments of the Cappella Palatina are, the wealth of organological information the paintings supply is only a part of their significance; indeed, we can be sure that this invaluable record of contemporary instruments was only a by-product of the artists' principal goal. What was the purpose of introducing so many paintings of the courtly music

<sup>25</sup> Ettinghausen, Painting in the Fatimid Period: A Reconstruction, in: Ars Islamica 9 (1942), pp. 112-124.

<sup>26</sup> André Grabar, Image d'une église chrétienne parmi les peintures musulmanes de la Chapelle Palatine à Palerme, in: Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst. Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel, ed. Richard Ettinghausen (Berlin 1959), pp. 226–233.

<sup>27</sup> Monneret de Villard (footnote 3), pp. 49-56.

<sup>28</sup> Ettinghausen, Arab Painting (footnote 9), p. 50.

<sup>29</sup> Fig. 32, for example, shows a psaltery and a wind instrument. Other caskets depict 'uds and harps as well. See Perry B. Cott, Siculo-Arabic Ivories (Princeton 1939), p. 17 and figs. 33d and e, 34c, 35a and b, and 39b.



Fig. 20

genre into the Cappella Palatina, and what is the role the various types of musicians play here? A closer examination of the individual paintings reveals that musicians appear in a number of different situations. Although the dress and instruments of the musicians remain similar wherever they are found on the ceiling, their context – both the form of the paintings themselves and their relationship to the paintings around them – varies considerably.

A number of the paintings depict musicians as a part of courtly revelry. Here the musicians are not the focus of attention; rather, they serve to set off and complement other figures, usually depicted with goblet in hand. Such scenes, often consisting of several panels, frequently occupy the higher section of the border of the central ceiling. Fig. 20 provides a clear example: in the central arched panel sits a haloed man with goblet in hand; to his right sits an 'ud player, her head turned to face him; on his left is a rabāb player, also facing the center (fig. 2 is a detail of this scene). Not all the scenes are so rigidly symmetrical, but others are even more carefully balanced. In fig. 21, for instance, such a scene becomes the focus of an entire segment of the border. Musicians occupy both of the section's curved, rectangular panels; they are arranged with strict symmetry, and point to the central panel above (the long-necked lute player on the right is the only left-handed player on the entire ceiling). The central figure, flanked by birds of prey – symbols of power as the musicians are of pleasure – raises a goblet in each hand, and matched lions (the left pair repainted) in the lower panels complete the symmetry of the unit.

Other panels are not so clearly focused on a single figure, but still express clearly the theme of courtly pleasure. Fig. 17 is one of the finest examples of this type of painting. Richard Ettinghausen's analysis, although it misidentifies one of the instruments, is perceptive and clear:

»One of the most elaborate treatments of the proyal entertainments theme shows two male flutists standing at the sides of a wall fountain, the water of which spouts from a lion head; forming an artificial cascade, this water flows over a series of steps into a small basin out of which rises a waterjet. Above this scene two ladies look out from windows into what must have been a royal reception room. . . . Here the pleasurable association of music and women, of the tinkling noise and coolness of running water, and, in general, the luxurious court life are all rendered as an ensemble.«<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Ettinghausen, Arab Painting (footnote 10), p. 47. Ettinghausen includes an excellent color reproduction of the panel.



Fig. 21



Fig. 22

This use of music to express both pleasure and authority is by no means an isolated case in medieval Sicilian art; one particularly clear – and nearly contemporary – example from the minor arts is shown in fig. 22. This casket, built of wood and covered with painted ivory, is one of a number of such pieces of Sicilian origin that survive in various parts of Europe; this one is now in the Cathedral of Würzburg. The ivory has been rearranged, but the basic design is clear: on both sides of a seated, crowned king, attendants, including psaltery and wind instrument players, are in waiting, testifying to the power of the central figure. Perry B. Cott, who noted the similarity of the paintings on these Siculo-Arabic ivories to those of the Cappella Palatina, also observed that the musicians' standing position created problems for the artist: although the musicians are standing, they are shown with one knee raised, as was conventional in the case of seated musicians. The result is an extremely awkward posture. The musicians at the fountain display a similar ambiguity: their proportions suggest that they are standing, as Ettinghausen assumes, but their legs – especially those of the drummer – seem to contradict this. Such problems make it clear that music as a royal pleasure was a firmly established genre, the elements of which were modified only very reluctantly.

A number of the ceiling paintings depict musicians similar to those already discussed, but no direct connection to other aspects of courtly revelry is apparent. These paintings are concentrated largely on the western sections of the ceiling's north and south borders, where the greatest number of musicians of all types are found. No convincing reason for this concentration is yet available, but some of the most lavish of the music paintings are found here. I have already mentioned one such painting, the psaltery player in fig. 14. An even grander painting is the 'ud



Fig. 23

player shown in fig. 23. The rigidly frontal pose focuses our attention strictly on the player, not on any larger ensemble; the symmetrical placement of the vases and their flowers further strengthens the focus. The headdress is so rich as to suggest a crown, and the robes are as richly patterned as any on the ceiling. Within the context of the entire ceiling these panels, too, can be seen to place music among the royal pleasures, but their subject is clearly music as a delight in and of itself rather than as a part of general revelry.

A series of rather different paintings around the lower edge of the border of the central ceiling also depict musicians without connecting them directly with other courtly activity, but these paintings, in which pairs of musicians play under more or less stylized palm trees, are much less formally executed. As figs. 11, 13, 16, and 19 show, the musicians face each other, and are shown with a variety of instruments and seated in a variety of postures – only the almost inevitable raised knee is constant. These paintings are among the liveliest on the ceiling: the figures almost completely fill the panels, and the less formal poses and the clear interaction between the players give these panels a sense of activity often not present in the more formal scenes. The pleasure of music-making combines with the presence of the tree – one of the most ancient symbols of life and health 32 – to create a pleasant scene without overtly royal overtones.

Oleg Grabar has discussed the significance of the depiction of royal pastimes unconnected with the depiction of the royal person in the minor arts of the Fatimid period. He writes:

<sup>32</sup> For a large collection of examples, see George Lechler, The Tree of Life in Indo-European and Islamic Cultures, in: Ars Islamica 4 (1937), pp. 369–416.

»These images can be interpreted in either one of two ways. One can argue that they were in some way symbols or representations of individual personages identified here by their courtly functions. . . . Alternately, and in our judgment preferably, these images are actually representations of functions, of hunting, music-making, drinking[,] and dancing. These functions which identified princely life had acquired the more general meaning of symbolizing a sgood lifes, a life of pleasure, and the images served thereby a purpose similar to the purpose of animals and of inscriptions, that of wishing well to the owner of the object. 33

Although the context of these paintings devoted exclusively to musicians is different from that of the minor art objects Grabar discusses – the depictions of crowned kings elsewhere on the ceiling and the overall context of the royal chapel make it impossible to speak of scenes completely removed from the presence of the royal person – Grabar's analysis does suggest another level of meaning of the music paintings in the chapel. Like the inscriptions of Arabic expressions of good will elsewhere on the ceiling, the musicians may well have been understood to express wishes for success and prosperity to the rulers of Sicily.





Fig. 24

Fig. 25

One painting fits comfortably into none of the categories I have so far discussed. In a corner of the border of the central ceiling appears a single seated figure tuning a triangular harp-psaltery (fig. 24). The painting is unique in a number of respects. The male musician, bareheaded and haloed, sits not on the usual cushions, but on a Western-style stool. The only other figure on the ceiling on such a stool is the immediately adjacent figure of a man in a turban writing on a scroll (fig. 25). In addition, the instrument the musician tunes is quite unlike the harp commonly

<sup>33</sup> Oleg Grabar, Imperial and Urban Art in Islam: the Subject Matter of Fatimid Art, in: Studies in Medieval Islamic Art (London 1976), section 7, p. 22.



Fig. 26

depicted in Sicilian Arabic art (fig. 26): it completely lacks the heavy soundpost of these instruments, the position in which it is held is quite different, a soundboard seems to be suggested behind the strings, and the strings run straight down from the upper member of the frame, not, as one would expect, to the vertical member at the right. No other instrument in the chapel is so apparently stylized, so distant from actual practice, and no other instrument is shown being tuned.

All these features suggest that this painting belongs not to the genre of Islamic courtly music, but to a very different tradition. In Christian iconography, the figure of a man tuning a stringed instrument – often one quite similar to the harp-psaltery depicted here – is a well known image of David. Fig. 27 shows an illustration from a twelfth-century tonary originally from Toulouse, an example in which the instrument is particularly similar to that in the chapel.<sup>34</sup> If the painting in the Cappella Palatina is considered as a copy by Islamic artists of a work in this tradition, a number of its features are explained. The Western-style stool, the instrument, and the act of

<sup>34</sup> For a discussion of David as a musician, see Hugo Steger, David Rex et Propheta (Nürnberg 1961), pp. 41–75. Another instrument similar to that in the chapel is shown in Steger's pl. 14 (Pommersfelden, Graf-von-Schönbornsche Schlossbibliothek, Ms. 334, fol. 148°). The Cantigas Ms. (footnote 12), fol. 62°, shows two detailed instruments of this type. Even here, the illustration may have been influenced by David iconography: the more grandly dressed and older figure on the left tunes his instrument in a manner reminiscent of the David portraits of the psalters.



Fig. 27

tuning are all traditional elements of this genre, but elements of the courtly musician genre remain: the player's robes are similar to those of the rest of the musicians, and as usual, one of his knees is raised, despite the precarious position on the stool that results. If the painter modelled his work on the Western image of David, he did not slavishly copy it, but rather combined it with the elements of the tradition of musical subjects known to him.

If this painting is derived from the tradition of David illustrations, its source and the motive for its presence remain uncertain. The motif was widespread, and the possibility that the Norman patrons were the source of the model or a description cannot be ruled out: David playing a triangular harp or harp-psaltery was not an unusual motif in Norman manuscripts (nor was the motif of the nearby scribe – perhaps derived from portraits of the Evangelists or Church Fathers). The figure appears without a crown, and the image of David not as king, but as psalmist and musician to a king may have made the subject particularly appropriate for the royal chapel.

One final group of musicians remains to be discussed. I have so far confined my attention to the paintings on the central ceiling; the side aisles, however, also contain musicians, some of them rather different from those of the central ceiling (figs. 28 and 29). Between the three decorative

<sup>35</sup> For example, Bordeaux, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 1, fol. 5, and Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 76, fol. A' show David playing a triangular harp or harp-psaltery. The same folio of the latter Ms. also includes an illustration of St. Augustine writing, inspired by an angel. Avranches, Ms. 103, fol. 4', another St. Augustine portrait, shows a scroll quite similar to that of fig. 22. See Jonathan James Green Alexander, Norman Illumination at Mont St. Michel, 966–1100 (Oxford 1970), pls. 50a, 20, and 47.

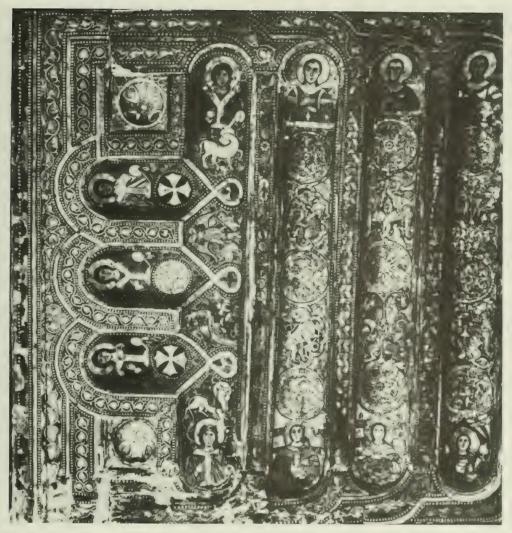


Fig. 28

medallions found in each recessed row of the aisles are spaces sometimes filled with decorative and sometimes with figurative paintings; the musicians who appear here (for example, in the fifth row of fig. 29) are similar to many on the central ceiling. However, at the ends of each row appear large, haloed figures, some male and some female, depicted from the waist up and usually bearing a goblet. Instead of the goblet, some of these figures hold musical instruments, most frequently an 'ud (fig. 29, at the top of the fourth row; the man at the top of the second row in fig. 28 plays a wind instrument). That these figures were repainted in clerical garb and associated with crosses and animals symbolizing the Evangelists (fig. 28, far left) shows that they came to be understood as religious figures, saints and evangelists. What they originally represented, however, is less clear.

Although most iconographic analysis has been focused on the central ceiling, a number of scholars have given different explanations of these figures. Kathi Meyer-Baer describes them as »musician angels, busts with halos, . . . some holding chalices with the water of life, and some

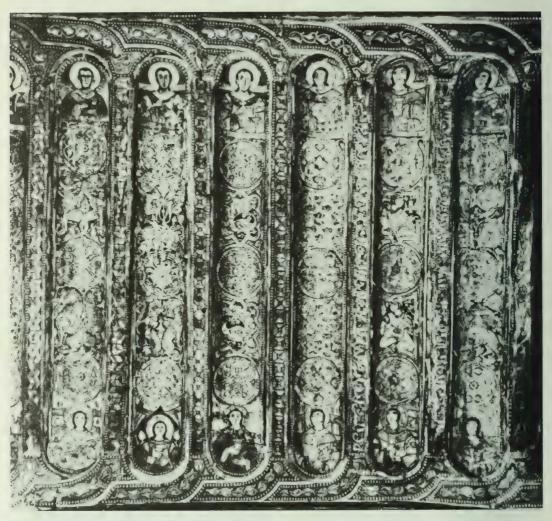


Fig. 29

playing on >lutes<...36 However, she gives her claim no further support, and such a purely religious explanation is hardly in keeping with the nature of the ceiling as a whole. Annabelle Simon-Cahn contends that they represent fixed stars or souls of the dead. As we will see, the latter possibility seems closer to the mark, but in any case, she offers no explanation for why some of these stars or souls should be playing musical instruments.<sup>37</sup> Tilman Seebass mentions the figures (in passing) as Elders, <sup>38</sup> an explanation which would account for the presence of the

<sup>36</sup> Meyer-Baer (footnote 11), p. 89.

<sup>37</sup> Simon-Cahn (footnote 8), pp. 32 f. Simon-Cahn's cosmological interpretation of the ceiling is problematic. She contends that in view of a long tradition of ceilings as representations of the sky, the chapel's paintings take on cosmological meanings they would not carry in another context. For instance, she writes that the musicians represent the sounds of the heavens (pp. 25–28), but gives no supporting iconographic evidence from other sources. Although the cosmological symbolism of some of the paintings is not to be denied, to see cosmology as the governing program of the entire ceiling seems a distortion. Simon-Cahn herself admits that her results are "remarkably unmedieval" (p. 35).

<sup>38</sup> Seebass (footnote 11), vol. 1, p. 172.



Fig. 30

instruments, since chalices and musical instruments are indeed the common accounterments of the Elders of the Apocalypse. Although, as we will see, the paintings of the Cappella Palatina are by no means irrelevant to an understanding of contemporary representations of the Elders, this explanation, too, has problems: the figures include both men and women, and the rest of the ceiling shows none of the traditional elements of the Apocalypse.

A more compelling explanation can be found if we consider one more level of meaning of the ceiling paintings. In discussing another enigmatic set of busts, from the dome of the Diwan of the throne hall of Khirbat al-Mafjar, dating from the mid-eighth century (fig. 30), Richard Ettinghausen writes:

»The ultimate goal of the heavenly journey is demonstrated by yet another most unusual motif: six handsome human heads – those of young men and young women – alternately spaced between luscious acanthus leaves. . . . They occur at the apex of the dome, the usual place of the oculus, which in the symbolic cupola paintings of the late Classical and later times indicates the agreet beyond or the domain of the all-highest divinity. This oculus imagery was appropriated in the Muslim setting, so that the youthful heads and the lush vegetation may well have suggested paradise, the final abode of the blessed and the reward of the faithful, as proclaimed by the Koran. It is difficult to offer specific proof of this hypothesis. All that we can venture is to argue that such an interpretation would have fitted Muslim concepts, quite apart from the apparent general tendency in official Umayyad art to render paradise. The location and specific character of this unusual architectural decoration may very well have expressed this idea. If so, the decorations of the private reception hall would have symbolized both aspirations for temporal power and the religious hopes of the original owner of the palace.«<sup>39</sup>

Clearly, the style and details of the Cappella Palatina are far removed from this eighth-century palace. However, the explanation Ettinghausen offers, if applied to these very different later busts, ties them with the rest of the ceiling and, indeed, with the chapel as a whole.

The Koranic description of djanna – paradise – is far more sensuous than its Christian counterpart, and later commentators elaborated the vision even further. <sup>40</sup> Beautiful gardens and palaces, splendid feasts, unlimited quantities of delightful drinks, beautiful women, and glorious music – precisely the elements which predominate in the Cappella Palatina – are described in loving detail. Dorothy Shepherd has characterized these motifs as imagery of the Banquet and the Hunt, and maintains that they themselves came to symbolize paradise; the ceiling of the Cappella Palatina is a prime example:

»It is the perfect expression of royal apotheosis; the individual compartments formed by the stalactite structure are filled with an almost endless variation of scenes or motives from the iconography of the banquet and the hunt, and harpies [guardians of heaven] play a particularly conspicuous role among the other animals and fabulous creatures which accompany these motives. I believe there cannot be the slightest doubt that not only the artist responsible for the design of the Palatine ceiling but also Roger, and probably his whole court, understood perfectly the iconographic role of each of these carefully chosen motives. 4<sup>41</sup>

It seems very likely that the busts of the side aisle, like the more elaborate compositions of the central ceiling, offer an idea of the delights awaiting the believer – in particular, the royal patron – as well as attesting to his power and to the splendor of his earthly court.

We can now begin to understand the presence of so many apparently quite worldly Arab musicians in the chapel of a Christian king. In his study of the mosaics of the chapel, Ernst Kitzinger wrote: »The Normans failed to understand or chose to ignore the true role of the icon in a Byzantine church, namely, to serve as a mystic enactment of a body of eternal and universal truths. . . . Instead, the Normans made of at least part of the church decoration a paean to the king.«<sup>42</sup> That the ceiling, too, was considered a part of this paean is made clear by the often-cited description of Theophanes Kerameus, who described the chapel, including a glowing description of the ceiling, in his prologue to a sermon delivered there shortly after its completion. Theophanes' reason for giving the description is quite explicit: the wonders of the chapel testify to the greatness of the monarch.<sup>43</sup> A representation of paradise would certainly have been a suitable theme for the ceiling of the chapel, and any discrepancy between the spiritual understanding of eternal life taught by Christianity and the exuberantly sensuous realm created by the Islamic artists was apparently of less concern than the testimony the work offered to Roger's splendor and power.

Nurith Kenaan and Ruth Bartal have pointed out that in the twelfth century, certain representations of the twenty-four Elders of the Apocalypse show a less rigid and formal structure than had previously been known; they attribute the change in part to the influence of Islamic art: »Cette impression nouvelle fut obtenue par l'introduction d'instruments de musique, de détails réalistes, et d'une sorte de rythme vivant qui pénètre les figures et leur communique un

41 Dorothy G. Shepherd, A Treasure from a Thirteenth-Century Spanish Tomb, in: Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art 65 (1978), p. 122.

<sup>40</sup> For an introduction to traditional teaching on the subject, as well as further bibliography, see Louis Gardet, Djannas, in: Encyclopedia of Islam, vol. 2 (Leiden and London 1965), pp. 447–452. See also Annemarie Schimmel, The Celestial Garden in Islams, in: The Islamic Garden, Fourth Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture, 1974 (Washington/D. C. 1976), pp. 11–39.

<sup>42</sup> Ernst Kitzinger, The Mosaics of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo, in: Art Bulletin 31 (1949), p. 291.

<sup>43</sup> Homilia LV, Patrologia graeca, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, vol. 132 (Paris 1864), cols. 951-956.

air de gaieté profane.«<sup>44</sup> Although the paintings in the chapel are not themselves representations of the Elders, they illustrate perhaps more clearly than most surviving monuments the contact between cultures and the resulting changes in attitude which facilitated such a transformation. The paintings depict in a positive light a wealth of musical instruments in a courtly setting – a situation unknown in previous Western iconography – and they depict paradise as being filled with that same variety. The acceptability of both these interrelated ideas – worldly instrumental music at the courts and musical instruments as an element of paradise – was a necessary condition for the rise of the new image of the Elders (in effect, the court of heaven) glorifying the heavenly ruler; courts such as that of the Norman kings of Sicily are one of the most likely sources for the ideas behind this iconographical shift.

There can be little doubt, though, that glorifying an earthly ruler was the foremost goal of the designers of the Cappella Palatina. Thus, what seems at first glance a startling incongruity – a host of Arabic musicians suggesting the most sensuous aspects of their art painted atop a Christian chapel – turns out to be an integral part of a coherent overall plan. Within a chapel offering splendid examples of the artistry of all of Sicily's subject peoples, the Islamic ceiling both attested to the worldly authority and magnificence of the king and suggested the rewards which awaited him. As the image of one of the principal pleasures and privileges of the royal court, the musicians of the Cappella Palatina depict an important aspect of a vision of an Islamic paradise offered to a Christian ruler.

#### Appendix

## Music Paintings in the Cappella Palatina

The catalogue that follows is based on the photographs of the ceiling published in Ugo Monneret de Villard, Le pitture musulmane al soffitto della Cappella Palatina in Palermo (Rome 1950). Due to damage and repainting and to the limitations of the photographs, this list cannot be considered to be a complete record of the original ceiling; however, it does provide a reference to those paintings that clearly depict musicians, as well as noting areas of uncertainty.

Only the paintings of musicians are described for the side aisles, since these sections have been so extensively damaged and altered that an overall description would provide little new information. For the better-preserved central ceiling border, however, I have included brief descriptions of the non-musical subjects in order to convey an impression of the context in which the music paintings are found. The individual sections of the border are identified according to the system shown in diagram 1. Within each section, individual panels are numbered according to the systems shown in diagrams 2, 3, and 4. I have included references to reproductions of the paintings found both in this article and in Monneret de Villard.

Except as noted, all the musicians are seated on the ground or on low objects such as cushions; players of string instruments finger with the left hand and bow or pluck with the right, unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>44</sup> Nurith Kenaan and Ruth Bartal, ¿Quelques aspects de l'iconographie des vingt-quatre Vieillards dans la sculpture française du XII<sup>e</sup> s.·, in: Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale 24 (1981), pp. 233–239; quotation from p. 236. I am grateful to Tilman Seebass for bringing this article to my attention, as well as for his many fruitful suggestions for the entire study.

### David Gramit

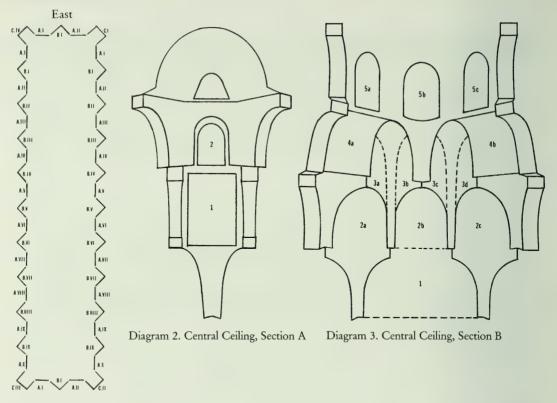


Diagram 1. Central Ceiling, Layout

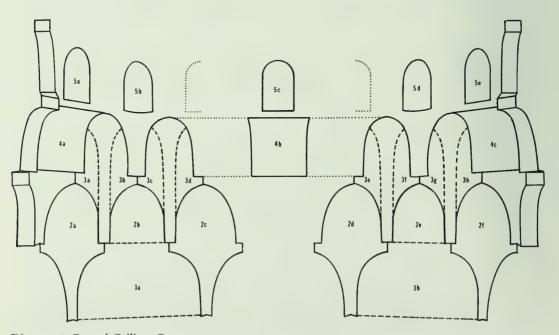


Diagram 4. Central Ceiling, Corners

### Right aisle

- 1. Fig. 28, top of second column from left (Monneret de Villard, fig. 5): Haloed figure visible from waist up, playing or holding wind instrument. Instrument consists of a long, narrow tube with bulbous end.
- 2. Fig. 29, top of fourth row from left (Monneret de Villard, fig. 6): Haloed female 'ud player visible from waist up. 'Ud has one small central sound hole and two irregular long, narrow holes above and below it. Plectrum is visible.
- 3. Fig. 29, fifth row from left, below first decorative medallion (Monneret de Villard, fig. 6): female 'ud player wearing headdress and seated with legs crossed. 'Ud is large and detailed, with two round sound holes near neck, two narrow ones behind them.
- 4. Fig. 29, directly below number 3, above (Monneret de Villard, fig. 6): Female rabāb player wearing headdress and seated with legs crossed. Rabāb is held between legs and bowed near meeting of body and neck.

#### Left aisle

- 5. Monneret de Villard, fig. 7, first row on left, below first medallion (detail: Monneret de Villard, fig. 204): Bearded 'ud player with small halo. 'Ud is exceptionally detailed: pegbox is bent down from neck at right angle, and contains six pegs: three strings or courses are flanked by two narrow sound holes. Hand is shown playing without plectrum.
- 6. Monneret de Villard, fig. 7, directly below number 5, above: female long-necked lute player with small halo, seated with crossed legs. Light instrument surrounded by dark band has two small, narrow sound holes.
- 7. Monneret de Villard, fig. 7, bottom of second column from left: haloed female 'ud player depicted from waist up, dressed in ornate robes. 'Ud, with one small central sound hole flanked by two small narrow ones, is distorted to fit space.
- 8. Monneret de Villard, fig. 8, first row on left, below second medallion: 'ud player with large halo, depicted from waist up (although in location usually showing seated musicians). 'Ud has round central sound hole beneath five strings or courses and flanked by two narrow sound holes.
- 9. Monneret de Villard, fig. 8, second row from left, below first medallion (detail: Monneret de Villard, fig. 210): female drummer in headdress. Oblong-headed drum is supported by left leg. Right hand holds curved stick, left is raised open above drum.
- 10. Monneret de Villard, fig. 8, directly below number 9, above: seated male in turban, playing long, narrow wind instrument. Instrument is no longer clear.
- 11. Monneret de Villard, fig. 11, bottom of third row from left: haloed female 'ud player depicted from waist up, in ornate robes. 'Ud has five strings or courses, one small round sound hole near neck, and two narrow sound holes behind. Plectrum is visible, but pegbox is not shown.
- 12. Monneret de Villard, fig. 11, bottom of fourth row from left: haloed 'ud player depicted from waist up, in ornate robes. 'Ud is similar to number 11 above, but long narrow pegbox is shown.
- 13. Monneret de Villard, fig. 11, top of sixth row from left: haloed female 'ud player depicted from waist up. Painting is somewhat deteriorated, and 'ud is not carefully done. Instrument is surrounded by dark band and has four strings or courses and two round and two narrow sound holes.
- 14. Monneret de Villard, fig. 13, top of fourth row from left: haloed long-necked lute player depicted from waist up. Edges of instrument's body are scalloped; two strings or courses are shown.

# Central Ceiling

	d description of painting (see diagrams 1–4) taining musicians are given in bold letters)	Repro Gramit	ductions Monneret
East Wall A.I:	Bird attacking prey.		15 158
	2. Figure with goblet.		158
B.I:			16
	1. Stylized animals around haloed man.		
	2. a. Two stylized animals.		
	b. Female figure.		
	c. Repainted birds of prey.		
	<ol> <li>Harpies.</li> <li>Horses pulling carriage carrying haloed man (Representations</li> </ol>		238
	of the sun, according to Monneret de Villard, pp. 45–47).		230
	5. a. Female 'ud player in headdress. 'Ud has four widely spaced		238
	strings or courses and two narrow sound holes.		
	b. Repainted bird of prey.		
	c. Haloed rabāb player. Three strings or courses are shown,		
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Repro	ductions
Gramit	Monneret

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## The Music Paintings of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo

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## Men, Women, and Music at Home: The Influence of Cultural Values on Musical Life in Eighteenth-Century England<sup>1</sup>

### Richard D. Leppert

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- 1 A preliminary version of this paper was read at the Ninth International Conference on Musical Iconography, in Mainz, Musikalische Sozialgeschichte im Bilds, co-sponsored by the Musikwissenschaftliches Institut, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität and RIdIM, August 27–28, 1982.

- Fig. 18: George Knapton (1698–1778), The Family of Frederick, Prince of Wales (1751), oil on canvas, 350.6×462.3 cm.; London, Marlborough House, Collection H. M. The Queen. Photo: Owner
- Fig. 19: Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646–1723), Garton Orme, oil; Bath, The Holburne of Menstrie Museum.
   Photo: London, Courtauld Institute of Art
- Fig. 20: Pietro Labruzzi (1739–1805), Sir James Bland Burges (1774), oil on canvas, 171×123 cm.; Sold London, Christie, 12 March 1976, lot 128. Photo: Sales catalogue
- Fig. 21: Joseph Nollekens (1702–1748), Gentleman Playing a Violoncello (c. 1740–48?), oil on canvas, 44.4×34.6 cm.; Sold London, Sotheby, Mrs. M. Biddy sale, 21 March 1979, lot 76. Photo: Sales catalogue
- Fig. 22: James Cole (active 1720–1743)?, A Flute Player, oil on canvas, 72.3×91.4 cm.; Whereabouts unknown. Photo: Illustrated London News (1943)
- Fig. 23: Robert Dighton (1752–1814), Fashion Plate Drawing for Month of February, ink, watercolor and body color, 32.3×24.7 cm.; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. E34-1947. Photo: Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum
- Fig. 24: Robert Dighton (1752–1814), >Fashion Plate for Falls, one of a set of four illustrations of the seasons, watercolor, 33.97×26 cm.; Minneapolis, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The Minnich Collection, acc. no. 66.25.99. Photo: Museum
- Fig. 25: Peltro William Tomkins (1760–1840), Morning Employments, monochrome print; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. E761-1968. Photo: Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum
- Fig. 26: British School (18th century; previously attributed to John Dowman), Lady Jane Mathew and her Daughters (c. 1790), oil on canvas, 90.4×90.8 cm.; New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, inv. no. 704. Photo: Museum
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- Fig. 28: Stephen Taylor (active 1817–1849), A Family Group in an Interior (1813), oil on canvas, 52×63.5 cm.; Sold London, Christie, 22 November 1974, lot 171. Photo: Sales catalogue
- Fig. 29: Thomas Gainsborough (1727–1788), Ann Ford (later Mrs. Philip Thicknesse) (c. 1760), oil on canvas, 197.1×135 cm.; Cincinnati Art Museum, Bequest of Mary M. Emery, inv. no. 1927.396. Photo: Museum
- Fig. 30: James Gillray (1757–1815), Farmer Giles and his Wife Shewing off their Daughter Betty to their Neighbours, on her Return from School (1809), engraving, 32.5×47.5 cm.; New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, no. L296.3 folio B. Photo: Works from the Original Plates (of James Gillray), no. 565.
- Fig. 31: Arthur Devis (1712–1787), Edward Rookes-Leeds and his Family, of Royds Hall, Low Moor, Yorkshire (c. 1763–1765), oil on canvas, 91.4×124.5 cm.; Northampton, Collection Sir Reginald and the Hon. Lady Macdonald-Buchanan. Photo: Greater London Council
- Fig. 32: Arthur Devis (1712–1787), Col. James Clitherow and his Wife Anne, at Boston House, Brentford, Middlesex (1759), oil on canvas, 91.4×109.2 cm.; London, Private collection. Photo: Walter Gardiner Photography, Worthing/Sussex
- Fig. 33: Arthur Devis (1712–1787), The Maynard Family in the Park at Waltons, Essex, formerly known as >Conversation Piece, Ashdon House (c. 1759–1761), oil on canvas, 138.5×195.6 cm.; Washington, National Gallery of Art, Paul Mellon Collection. Photo: Museum
- Fig. 34: Arthur Devis (1712–1787), Gentleman and Lady at Harpsichord (1749), oil on canvas, 115.6×103.5 cm.; London, Victoria and Albert Museum. Photo: Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum
- Fig. 35: James Gillray (1757–1815), Harmony before Matrimony (1805), etching, 23.1×34.2 cm.; London, British Museum, inv. no. D. G. (1805), 10472. Photo: The Trustees of the British Museum
- Fig. 36: James Gillray (1757–1815), Matrimonial-Harmonics (1805), etching, 23.4×34.2 cm.; London, British Museum, inv. no. D. G. (1805), 10473. Photo: The Trustees of the British Museum
- Fig. 37: Johann Zoffany (1733–1810), George, 3rd Earl Cowper, with his Wife and the Family of Charles Gore (1775), oil on canvas, 74.9×94 cm.; New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, inv. no. B1977.14.87. Photo: Museum

- Fig. 38: John Thomas Seaton (active 1761–1806), >Col. Ralph Bates and his Wife Anne«, oil on canvas, 97.8×100.3 cm.; Sold London, Christie, 19 November 1976, lot 18. Photo: Sales catalogue
- Fig. 39: Arthur Devis (1712–1787), Rev. Thomas D'Oyly and his Wife Henrietta Maria: (c. 1743–1744), oil on canvas, 73.7×61 cm.; British Private Collection. Photo: London, Cooper
- Fig. 40: Robert Dighton (1752–1814), Fashion Plate for Month of November, from a series, The Twelve Months, mezzotint, gouache, 35.3×25 cm.; Minneapolis, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The Minnich Collection, acc. no. 17,039. Photo: Museum
- Fig. 41: Joseph Wright of Derby (1734–1797), Mr. and Mrs. William Chase (c. 1762–1763), oil on canvas, 138.4×190.5 cm.; Formerly Catcombe Park, Isle of Wight, Collection Lord Butler. Photo: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art (London) Limited
- Fig. 42: Robert Dighton (1752–1814), >Fashion Plate for Winters, from a series, The Four Seasons, watercolor, 33.97×26 cm.; Minneapolis, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The Minnich Collection, acc. no. 66.25.100. Photo: Museum
- Fig. 43: Robert Dighton (1752–1814), Fashion Plate for Month of March, from a series, The Twelve Months, mezzotint, gouache, 35.3×25 cm.; Minneapolis, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The Minnich Collection, acc. no. 17,032. Photo: Museum
- Fig. 44: Richard Houston (c. 1721–1775) after Francis Hayman, >Hearing< (1753), mezzotint, 35.2×24.9 cm.; New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Fund, no. B1970.3.960. Photo: Museum
- Fig. 45: British School (late 18th century), The Captain's so Kind as to Thrust in a Note, while Old Lady Cuckoo is Straining her Throat (1777), etching, 34.3×23.3 cm.; Minneapolis, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, The Minnich Collection, acc. no. 17,380. Photo: Museum
- Fig. 46: Lady Dorothy Savile, Countess of Burlington (1699–1758), Girl at Spinet with an Owl in a Cage, pen and brown wash over pencil, 23.7×18.6 cm.; Chatworth/Kent, Devonshire Collection, Drawing Album no. 26, p. 12. Photo: London, Courtauld Institute of Art
- Fig. 47: Arthur Devis (1712–1787), Edward Parker with his Wife Barbara (1757), oil on canvas, 127×101.6 cm.; Private collection. Photo: London, Leger Gallery
- Fig. 48: Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792), The Daughters of James Paine (c. 1766) (before cleaning), oil on canvas, 124.4×97.7 cm.; Port Sunlight, England, Lady Lever Art Gallery. Photo: Liverpool, The Walker Art Gallery
- Fig. 49: Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792), The Wife and Daughters of James Paines (c. 1766) (after cleaning), oil on canvas, 124.4×97.7 cm.; Port Sunlight, England, Lady Lever Art Gallery. Photo: Liverpool, The Walker Art Gallery
- Fig. 50: Unknown Artist, The Putnam Family, oil on canvas, 105.41×85 cm.; Whereabouts unknown. Photo: after Sacheverell Sitwell, Conversation Pieces (London 1936, B. T. Batsford Ltd.), pl. 55
- Fig. 51: Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646–1723), >Lady Elizabeth Cromwell as Saint Cecilia (1703), oil, 50.6×69.4 cm.; Cliff House, Collection the Hon. J. E. S. Russell. Photo: London, Courtauld Institute of Art
- Fig. 52: Sir William Beechey (1753–1839) after Reynolds, Mrs. Sheridan (née Elizabeth Linley) as St. Cecilia, oil on canvas, 139.7×110.4 cm.; Sold London, Christie, 24 June 1977, lot 87. Photo: Sales catalogue

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This article addresses the semiotics of selected paintings, drawings, and prints produced in eighteenth-century England having musical subject matter. My purpose is to contribute to an understanding of the influence of social values, ideology, and sexism on music history and to clarify how musical practices helped to assure and preserve male domination of women by limiting female activity to the home.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> I wish to acknowledge support received from the American Philosophical Society, the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Graduate School, University of Minnesota.

In looking at eighteenth-century English paintings and drawings depicting upper-class amateur musicians (or amateurs and professionals together) playing in chambers, a preponderance of male performers is evident. Very few females appear. Figs. 1-9 are typical in this regard (however else they may be different); taken together, the nine images contain seventy-three musicians; exactly five are women. Many other women are present, but as listeners rather than performers.<sup>3</sup> Social and ideological factors contribute to the phenomenon of male ensembles and the general exclusion of women in these settings. As I shall presently show, one might expect such ensembles to be staffed at least in part by women, particularly if one examines attitudes toward musical practice and education of the two sexes among the English upper classes. This issue has significance. Eighteenth-century English concerts, more or less publicly performed, almost always involved orchestras staffed by amateur musicians – as well as professionals paid in part to provide "support" or "stiffening" for the efforts of their less talented employers. Numerous surviving accounts suggest that the performance quality on average was adversely affected by the mediocre abilities of the male upper-class amateurs. This situation must necessarily have contributed negatively to the general development of musical life in England, It is the seriousness of the inherent musical (as opposed to social) problem that I will address at this point.

Contemporaneous accounts, in particular those written by skilled performers, suggest a certain arrogance and obliviousness on the part of the amateurs. Thus William Jackson asked: »How many a concert is spoiled by gentlemen whose taste is to supply their deficiency of practice and knowledge? However, although our ears are offended at the instant, the affair is soon over, and we think no more of it. «4 Yet the issue remained on Jackson's mind. He leveled this indictment more than once, as in his assessment of the musical skills of painter Thomas Gainsborough: »How often do presumptive amateurs spoil the success of a concert by contributing their efforts under the mistaken conviction that they are adding to the enjoyment of the affair, whereas in reality they are only giving offence to the unfortunate composer of the music? «5

Louis Philippe Boitard's Orchestra Rehearsing (fig. 9), representing an orchestra of amateurs (their class status is signaled by their hats) and professionals (hatless), hints at chaos in the disarray of an ensemble more interested in social intercourse than in making music. At the far right a professional player tears at his hair in frustration, as surrounding amateurs struggle to tune up violins and a bass viol or otherwise to practice their parts.<sup>6</sup>

- 3 The private (often domestic) and semi-public music-making under consideration here is particularly evident after 1740. Stanley Sadie's Cambridge dissertation (1958), British Chamber Music, 1720–17904, is among the most useful general studies of the subject, especially for the background section, chapters 1–6.
- 4 William Jackson, The Four Ages: Together with Essays on Various Subjects (London 1798), p. 233.
  5 Quoted from Eric David Mackerness, Fovargue and Jackson, in: Music and Letters 31 (1950), p. 236.
- 6 For information on amateur and amateur-professional musical societies in London, see Henry Raynor, ¿London, Concert life Organizations«, in: The New Grove (London 1980), vol. 11, pp. 192–195, and Eric David Mackerness, A Social History of English Music (London and Toronto 1964), pp. 114–116. For a good primary account (albeit from Scotland), see William Tytler, ¿On the Fashionable Amusements and Entertainments in Edinburgh in the Last Century [i.e., 17th], with a Plan of a Grand Concert of Music on St. Cecilia's Day, 1695«, in: Archeologia Scotica 1 (1792), pp. 504–510. A chart is given for each of the twelve pieces performed showing the instruments played by particular performers consisting of »19 gentlemen of the first rank and fashion, supported by 11 professors, or masters of music«. A long footnote provides assessments of individual performers' abilities. William Forbes Gray, ¿The Musical Society of Edinburgh and St. Cecilia's Hall«, in: The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club 19 (1933), pp. 189–245, provides detailed information on gentlemen's concerts from 1728 to 1801. Membership at first was restricted not only by class (nobility and gentry) but also by sex. In the early years a limited number of women were admitted on occasion but only as listeners. From the start professional musicians, primarily Italians, were recruited by amateurs to add support to the ensemble.



Fig. 1

















Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9

Amateurs' musical misadventures were occasionally brought directly to their attention, as in an April 1791 notice addressed to the gentlemen of Edinburgh's Musical Society which asked them »to attend the Forte and Piano passages & to play their parts plain as Marked in the Musick without any Flourishes. In accompanying the Songs the Ripienos ar allways too strong for the Voice. They are therefore desired to play Piano when the Voice comes in«. The criticisms, involving dynamics and balance between instruments and voices, suggest problems of a very basic order; the injunction to avoid flourishes probably indicates a lack of ability to execute them either together or well.

The avid and talented amateur Roger North, writing at the turn of the eighteenth century, alluded to the difficulties of gentlemen musicians, explaining that the frustrations of some London amateurs led them to give up music altogether:

»It is most certein the gentlemen are not oblidg'd to aime at that [same] perfection, as masters who are to earne their support by pleasing not themselves, for it is their day labour, but others. And therefore audiences are not so well [for gentlemen] when their owne enterteinement is the buissness, because they indulge their owne defects, and are not distasted or discouraged by stopp, errors, and faults, which an audience would laugh att. But it is so unhappy that gentlemen, seeing and observing the performances of masters, are very desirous to doe the same; and finding the difficulty and the paines that is requisite to acquire it, are discouraged in the whole matter, and lay it aside; which is cheifly to be ascribed to this towne which is the bane of all industry, because many other pleasures stand with open armes to receive them.«

Indeed, the wretched playing of amateur musicians was a standing joke so widely appreciated as to produce a virtual sub-genre of visual satire, evident in widely available, mass-produced prints (figs. 10–12) as well as drawings (figs. 13–15). The same theme was often repeated in popular literature and on the stage.

The hero of James Bramston's satirical poem > The Man of Taste (1733) happily proclaims the musical sensibilities of a buffoon:

»Musick has charms to sooth a savage beast, And therefore proper at a Sheriff's feast. My soul has oft a secret pleasure found, In the harmonious Bagpipe's lofty sound. Bagpipes for men, shrill German-flutes for boys, I'm English born, and love a grumbling noise.«10

Bramston's musician complements an assessment offered in the seventeenth century by Obadiah Walker who remarked on music: »I advise not . . . To thrum a Guitar to 2 or 3 Italian Ballad tunes, may be agreeable for once, but often practiced is ridiculous. besides [sic] I do not remember to have seen any Gentleman, tho very diligent and curious abroad, to qualify himself with that skill, but when he came to any maturity, he wholly rejected it.«<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Gray (footnote 6), p. 234.

<sup>8</sup> Roger North, Roger North on Music: Being a Selection from his Essays written during the years c. 1695–1728, ed. John Wilson (London 1959), p. 15.

<sup>9</sup> The iconographical scheme of the last of these is complex. See Patricia Crown, Visual Music: E. F. Burney and a Hogarth Revival, in: Bulletin of Research in the Humanities 83 (Winter 1980), especially pp. 453–459.

10 p. 12.

<sup>11</sup> Obadiah Walker, Of Education. Especially of Young Gentlemen. In Two Parts, 2nd impression with additions (Oxon 1673), p. 197.

As far as music is concerned, the basic John Bull Englishman's lack of musical interest was exceeded only by his inability to perform it. Such an individual was satirized in London's weekly >The Connoisseur from 1756. In a letter addressed to Mr. Town, Aaron Humkin (read musical bumpkin) rails at length about his wife's passion for music, convinced she is stark mad and blaming music for his domestic turmoil:

»But what makes this rage after catgut more irksome and intolerable to me is, that I have not myself the least idea of what they call Taste, and it almost drives me mad to be pestered with it. I am a plain man, and have not the least spice of a Connoisseur in my composition; yet nothing will satisfy my wife, unless I appear as fond of such nonsense as herself.«<sup>12</sup>

At one extreme, then, are those men who eschew music. But they are not as harmful as those of my main concern, the gentlemen who take to it, but poorly. Among the most amusing amateurs of this sort is Sir Symphony, »a fanatico per la musica«, created by Thomas Southerne in his comedy The Maid's Last Prayer; or, Any Rather Than Fail (1693); he plays the »base viol« and a Cremona violin (for which he paid £ 50). According to Southerne's stage direction, Symphony beats time and continues to talk throughout a chamber music performance with his friends:

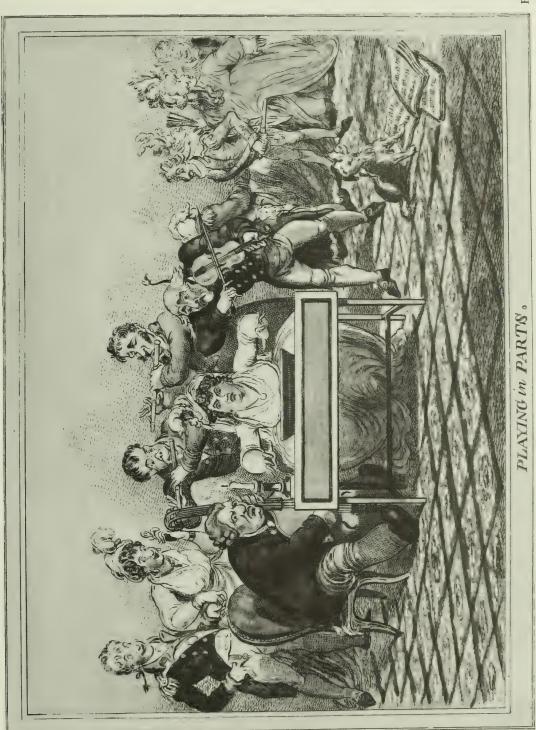
»Come, pray let's begin – O Gad! there's a flat Note! There's Art! How surprizingly the Key changes! O law! there's a double relish! I swear, Sir, you have the sweetest little Finger in England! ha! that stroak's new; I tremble every inch of me: Now ladies look to your Hearts – Softly, Gentlemen – remember the Eccho – Captain, you play the wrong Tune – O law! my Teeth! my Teeth! for God's sake, Captain, mind your Cittern – Now the Fuga, bases! agen, agen! Lord! Mr. Humdrum, you come in three barrs too soon. Come, now the Song.«<sup>13</sup>

In satires of all kinds it is especially males who bear the brunt of critical attention. On the rarest of occasions the exceptional man appears, the surviving description of him proving the rule. Thomas Twining, friend to Charles Burney, described such a find in a Mr. Tindal, recently settled in the neighborhood:

»He plays the fiddle well, the harpsichord well, the violoncello well. Now, sir, when I say, well, I can't be supposed to mean the wellness that one should predicate of a professor who makes those instruments his study; but that he plays in a very ungentlemanlike manner, exactly in tune and time, with taste, accent, and meaning, and the true sense of what he plays; and, upon the violoncello, he has execution sufficient to play Boccherini's quintettos at least what may be called very decently.«<sup>14</sup>

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- 12 Issue no. 128, July 8, pp. 183–189. The quotation is from pp. 184f. Mr. Humkin's full fury is saved for the concerts his wife organizes at home: »If my wife could be satisfied, like other musical ladies, with attending public performances, and now and then thrumming on her harpsichord the tunes she hears there, I should be content: but she has also a concert of her own constantly once a week. Here she is in still greater raptures than at the opera, as all the music is chosen and appointed by herself. The expence of this whim is monstrous; for not one of these people will open their mouths, or rosin a single string, without being very well paid for it. Then she must have all the best hands and voices; and has almost as large a set of performers in pay as the manager of the opera. It puts me quite out of patience to see these fellows strutting about my house, drest up like lords and gentlemen. Not a single fidler, or singer, but what appears in lace or embroidery; and I once mistook my wife's chief musician for a foreign ambassador« (p. 186). Maria Humkin writes a reponse to her husband's letter in issue no. 130, July 22, 1756, pp. 197–203. Her own faults as a too-devoted admirer of music and musicians especially Italians are evident.
- 13 From Act IV, scene 2, p. 42. This scene is also cited by Stanley Sadie, British Chamber Music (Phil. D. diss. Cambridge 1958), pp. 95f.
- 14 Thomas Twining, Recreations and Studies of a Country Clergyman of the Eighteenth Century (London 1882), p. 145.





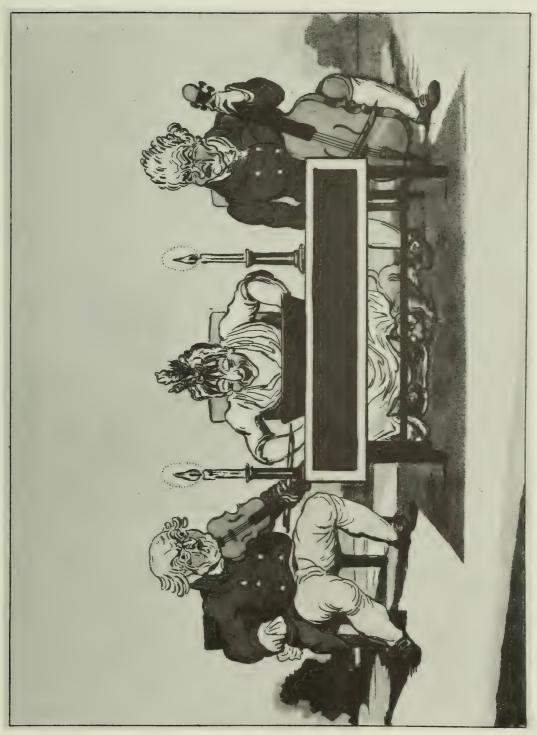






Fig. 14



I shall now address the causes that produced several generations of musically witless males who played in public (even though it was the opposite sex, as I shall later show, which was far better trained in the art). The clearest answers are to be found in class and sex attitudes, the best guides to an understanding of which are English courtesy and conduct books.

Courtesy books – a massive subject – are concerned with defining »the types of human conduct as an expression of class ideals«. <sup>15</sup> Some are written in the form of parental advice, often in the guise of a father to a son or a mother to a daughter. Others, less intimate, are addressed more generally and simply to »a nobleman« or »noblewoman«. I shall speak first about males. Courtesy and conduct books tell a young man how a gentleman behaves and what sorts of knowledge befit his station, what are a gentleman's virtues and intellectual acquirements, and what constitutes good breeding. Assessments are made about what in life is essential, what optional, and what to be avoided. Some are philosophical in both tone and content; some bear strong relation to the sermon; others are little more than collections of maxims.

The prevailing attitude in the eighteenth century can be summed up in the words of John Locke in his famous and influential essay, Some Thoughts Concerning Education, first published in 1693, by 1801 in a tenth edition:

»[Music] wastes so much of a young Man's time, to gain but a moderate Skill in it, and engages often in such odd Company, that many think it much better spared: And I have, amongst Men of Parts and Business, so seldom heard any one commended, or esteemed for having an Excellency in Musick, that amongst all those things that ever came into the List of Accomplishments, I think I may give it the last place.«<sup>16</sup>

Negative attitudes towards the musical education of the upper-class young were no doubt strengthened by those writers who claimed (long before the eighteenth century in some cases) that music provided an affront to morality. Philip Stubbes, the English pamphleteer born about 1555, published in The Anatomie of Abuses (1583) a virulent attack on the manners, customs, and amusements of the period; music comes high on his list, though there is little original in his diatribe. He is mostly inclined to quote the ancients to make the case:

»I Say of Musick as Plato, Aristotle, Galen, and many others have said of it; that it is very il for yung heds, for a certaine kind of nice, smoothe sweetnes in alluring the auditorie to niceness, effeminacie, pusillanimitie, & lothsomnes of life, so as it may not improperly be compared to a sweet electuarie of honie, or rather to honie it-self; for as honie and such like sweet things, received into the stomack, dooth delight at the first, but afterward they make the stomack so quasie, nice and weake, that it is not able to admit meat of hard digesture: So sweet Musick at the first delighteth the eares, but afterward corrupteth and depraveth the minde. . . .

But beeing used in publique assemblies and private conventicles, as directories to filthie dauncing, thorow the sweet harmonie & smoothe melodie therof, it estraungeth the mind, stireth up filthie lust, womannisheth the minde, ravisheth the hart, enflameth concupisence, and bringeth in uncleannes.«<sup>17</sup>

Courtesy books often express fear that the attentions demanded by music will tear a young man away from the responsibilities of the gentleman, luring him into trifling with the non-essential. Lord Chesterfield's famous letters of 1749 to his natural son Philip Stanhope state this attitude with unsurpassed vengeance. Writing from London to his boy in Venice on the Grand Tour, Chesterfield cautions him against musical participation:

<sup>15</sup> John E. Mason, Gentlefolk in the Making: Studies in the History of English Courtesy Literature and Related Topics from 1531 to 1774 (Philadelphia 1935), p. 291. See also Gertrude E. Noyes, Bibliography of Courtesy and Conduct Books in Seventeenth-Century England (New Haven 1937), and Virgil B. Heltzel, A Check List of Courtesy Books in the Newberry Library (Chicago 1942).

<sup>16</sup> pp. 235 f., paragraph 185; from the first edition.

<sup>17</sup> Philip Stubbes, Philip Stubbes's Anatomy of the Abuses in England in Shakespeare's Youth, A.D. 1583, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, 2 vols. (London 1877–1882), vol. 1, pp. 169f.

»I insist upon your neither piping nor fiddling yourself. It puts a gentleman in a very frivolous, contemptible light; brings him into a great deal of bad company; and takes up a great deal of time, which might be much better employed. Few things would mortify me more, than to see you bearing a part in a concert, with a fiddle under your chin, or a pipe in your mouth.«<sup>18</sup>

Lord Chesterfield's voice represents an extreme, though a widely heard one. There were writers of courtesy and conduct literature who looked somewhat more kindly on music. But there is considerable consistency among even this group that music, while of worth, had to be kept in its proper place. William Darrell's view is typical, as expressed in his book A Gentleman Instructed in the Conduct of a Virtuous and Happy Life, first published in 1704, by 1732 in its tenth edition. Giving his opinion of dancing and music together, he says that both »embellish Quality, and give a pretty turn to Breeding; they furnish a Man with all the little Ingredients, necessary for a quaint Address, and usher him into Company with Advantage; they relieve a drooping Discourse: For when Reason runs low, and Conversation languishes, a Stroke of the Fiddle, a Song or a Sarabrand well perform'd may enliven it. « Following this statement – which hardly stands as a ringing endorsement – Darrell adds the qualifier that one finds in almost every other tract that is at least partly supportive of music:

»But don't over-rate these Talents, nor place 'em among the first Rate Qualifications of a Gentleman; for in reality they only fit you up for a modish Address and a female Entertainment. Let a Man rather trim up his Mind, than this Body: Those Embelishments are more noble and rich that lie in the Brain, than those that sink into the Feet, or perch on the Finger's End.«<sup>19</sup>

Even as enthusiastic a spokesman for music as Henry Peacham felt obligated to assign music only a modest role in the life of a gentleman:

»I might run into an infinite sea of the praise and use of so excellent an art, but I only show it you with the finger because I desire not that any Noble or Gentleman should (save at his private recreation and leasureable houres) proove a Master in the same, or neglect his more weighty imployments: though I avouch it a skill worthy the knowledge and exercise of the greatest Prince.«<sup>20</sup>

In most cases, in other words, enthusiasm expressed about music was tempered. Some found justification for the practice on imaginative grounds. Thus Thomas Bisse published a sermon in 1726 in which he claimed that music was ordained by God the principal entertainment in human life, building his argument on the Panglossian idea that »the two principal organs or faculties in the make of man [by which he means hands and ears] seem chiefly framed for the performance, and for the reception and conveyance of musick to us«. 21 He speaks with the conviction that God made hands so that the fingers could pluck strings. Approaching the connection between the hand and music from the opposite direction, Richard Mulcaster (1530–1611) much earlier claimed that practicing an instrument while young brought to it the advantage of exercising the small joints and making them nimbler. 22 In the eighteenth century, the non-musical Dr. Johnson

<sup>18</sup> Philip Dormer Stanhope, Letters to his Son by the Earl of Chesterfield on the Fine Art of Becoming a Man of the World and a Gentleman, ed. Oliver H. G. Leigh, 2 vols. (London 1926), vol. 1, p. 170, letter no. 68, April 19, O. S. 1749.

<sup>19</sup> From the London edition, 1704, pp. 38f. On the author, a Jesuit active in France from 1671, see Jamie Croy Kassler, The Science of Music in Britain, 1714–1830: A Catalogue of Writings, Lectures and Inventions, 2 vols. (New York 1979), vol. 1, p. 259. Darrell's book was also translated into Italian and Hungarian.

<sup>20</sup> Henry Peacham, The Compleat Gentleman, The Truth of our Times, and The Art of Living in London, ed. Virgil B. Heltzel (London 1634; repr. Ithaca 1962), pp. 111f. (The same passage is cited by Jack A. Westrup, Domestic Music under the Stuarts, in: Proceedings of the Musical Association, 68th Session [1941/42], p. 21.)

<sup>21</sup> Thomas Bisse, Musick the Delight of the Sons of Men (London 1726), p. 8.

<sup>22</sup> Richard Mulcaster, Mulcaster's Positions, ed. Robert Herbert Quick (London 1888), p. 39.

summed up for the defense as well as anyone when he described music as »the only sensual pleasure without vice«.<sup>23</sup>

To be sure, conduct and courtesy books such as those just cited deal with the ideal gentleman rather than the real one. Yet it is within this philosophical and social framework that male amateur musicians from the upper classes practiced their art: the encouragement was scant, the suspicions great; on one extreme music was derided, at the opposite extreme it was at best excused and tolerated. That these attitudes affected even the most devoted of musicians is evident in their defensiveness when speaking of music. Thus Roger North, the life-long devoted amateur, wrote: »But I never made musick a minion to hinder buissness; it was a diversion, which I ever left for profit, and layd it downe, and resum'd it, as time inlarg'd or straitned with me.« He later confessed that »It may be I might have run too much into the sottish resignation that some shew to this slight enterteinement, musik, if my brother, with whome I used to converse and very much revered his authority, had not sometimes given me a gentle check for hunting of musick, as he called it; which made me a litle ashamed of owning too much of it.«<sup>24</sup>

Finally, the placement of discussions on music in courtesy and conduct books – if they occur at all – usually follows discourses on the gentlemanly pursuits of fencing, hunting and fishing, all presumably considered more important and appropriate activities of the sex and class.

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Portraits of children, alone or with their parents, abound during the period. But with regard to male children, musical accounterments are rare, except for one instrument, the drum; and this instrument – used as a toy for toddlers – is not given them as an encouragement to music, of course, but as a device associated with the life of action, power, statecraft, and duty, the primary prerogatives of the well-born male. Several examples will help clarify my point.

In the first (fig. 16), Charles St. Clair, thirteenth Lord St. Clair, presumably dressed in the uniform of a lieutenant colonel of the Berwickshire Militia, stands with his first wife, Mary, who in turn supports their son James. The child, who could be not more than two years of age, stands atop a table vigorously beating a drum hanging by a strap around his neck. The drum serves as a sign signifying the class and sex ideals held by the parents for their son.

A similar but less ambiguous sign is evident in the pair of prominently displayed kettledrums covered with crimson drapery and gold tasseling in an elegant group portrait (fig. 17) of Algernon, seventh Duke of Somerset, and his family. The player is young Lord Beauchamp, son of Algernon, whose one hand holds the mallets and the other the hand of his mother, Frances, Duchess of Somerset. The meaning is obvious. The boy spends his youth preparing for the responsibilities of male adulthood as defined by his class. As images, kettledrums leave nothing to chance; their presence cannot be explained as a reflection of use: kettledrums were not employed as toys as were child-sized infantry drums (fig. 16). The kettledrums function only as signs, intended to assert the elevated stations of an important family and to claim certainty for the continuance of the line through the eldest son. The sexual implications of their shape and number require no explanation.

24 North (footnote 8), pp. 28f. From an essay written c. 1695.

<sup>23</sup> George Birkbeck Hill (ed.), Johnsonian Miscellanies (Oxford 1897), vol. 2, p. 301. Quoted from Derek Jarrett, England in the Age of Hogarth (Frogmore, St. Albans/Herts 1976), p. 159.

George Knapton's portrait of the family of Frederick, Prince of Wales (fig. 18), painted shortly after the death of Frederick (who is present only in the portrait-within-the-portrait), shows the four sons variously studying a plan of Portsmouth and its fortifications and playing with a model of the royal yacht. The military and statecraft associations are unmistakeable. The girls, by contrast, make music and play with dogs.<sup>25</sup>

When one occasionally finds a boy playing an instrument, as with a portrait by Kneller (fig. 19) of Garton Orme, a new pictorial convention enters, namely, visual reassurance that, although the boy is musical, he is still »normal« – that is, a young »man« of action. Garton Orme wears a heavy coat, designed for outdoor use (he is not a wall flower). Moreover, he has a (ceremonial) sword at his side. In day-to-day life, young boys did not carry swords, especially inside a house. The weapon, like the coat, is a sign confirming that Orme's activity at the spinet is for leisure only, an interlude from the growing responsibilities that will be his as a man. 26

The concern to confirm maleness in portraits of boy musicians is also evident in pictures of adults. The social stigmas against music seem to have been sufficiently strong that reassurances were necessary. Thus a portrait of Iames Bland Burges (fig. 20), painted when he was twenty-two and on the Tour in Rome, depicts him as a man of taste and cultivation: his worldliness and his appetite for adventure are confirmed by the map to which he points and by the locale-setting view of Rome through the window where we see the Pantheon and Trajan's Column: knowledge is confirmed by the book prop, cultivation by the bust of Minerva on the table; his taste for music is openly announced by his violoncello. The sword carried on his body not only proclaims his social rank but also defines him as a man of action. Music is lesser; the violoncello lies on the floor where it can be taken up from time to time. The rough compositional parallel between the musical instrument (and especially its bow) and the sword is striking and, I would argue, intentional as well as meaningful. The parallel lines set up a visual relationship between two otherwise unrelated objects, thereby inviting comparison. A hierarchy is established between them by means of a logical and visual tension; swords are not normally worn in the house (they are clumsy); violoncellos are not normally set flat on the floor (they can be stepped on or tripped over). These practical anomalies, combined with the compositional relationship they share, invite a high/low, marked/unmarked reading. That is, the sword is physically stationed above the violoncello and it is highlighted by the artist (especially by the reflections on the hilt and along the uppermost edge of the scabbard). The musical instrument, by contrast, is low (the lowest noteworthy object in the room, though also the one closest the viewer) and mostly in shadow. Action and responsibility (the sword) precede taste and leisure (music). James Bland Burges was in fact a lifelong dedicated musical amateur - in later life, after retirement from a career in politics, he composed some music - hence the justification for including his violoncello in the portrait. But either his own self-consciousness about these musical interests (recalling Roger

<sup>25</sup> See further Oliver Millar, The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen (London 1963), p. 189, cat. no. 573.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Roland Barthes discussing the photographs of actors produced by Harcourt Studios: "As for the men, with the exception of the young leads, who admittedly belong more or less to the angelic species, since their face remains, like the women's, in a posture of evanescence – the men promote their virility by some urban attribute, a pipe, a dog, glasses, a mantelpiece to lean on, objects trivial but necessary to the expression of masculinity, an audacity permitted only to the males of the species, and by which the actor in town manifests in the fashion of gods and kings on a spree that he has no fear of being, sometimes, a man like anyone else, furnished with certain pleasures (pipe), affections (dog), weaknesses (glasses), and even an earthly domicile (mantelpiece). From The Harcourt Actor, the Eiffel Tower and Other Mythologies, trans. Richard Howard (New York 1979), pp. 20f.

North's remarks quoted earlier) or – more likely – the secondary function allotted to it during his youth is nevertheless clarified. The very rarity of portraits commemorating upper-class male amateurs at music confirms the singularity of Bland Burges's avocation, or at least his willingness to proclaim it.

Joseph Nollekens's portrait of an unidentified cello player makes a similar impression (fig. 21). Both the setting and the man's costume assert his status as a gentleman. The view through the window establishes the proportion of his wealth, while the sword and the hat (on the wall at the upper right) visually mark him as a man of action, and not a mere piper or fiddler fulfilling Lord Chesterfield's worst fear.

A portrait of a young, unidentified flute player (fig. 22) is strikingly similar, though the man's social class is less elevated and the signs of wealth less subtly announced. An open door provides a view to the outside, though we don't see an estate in the distance, simply another building. (The man has aspirations, though he has not "arrived".) On the back wall – prominently displayed, advertised – is a hunting horn, the ultimate attribute of social class and male action. Here, however, the sign tends to fall flat. It is not very convincing; the image cloys like a self-conscious self-acknowledgement of the nouveau riche. The attribute of action (read virility) – as well as gentle birth – is hinted at by a sword, hanging from the man's waist, only the handle visible from beneath his coat. Here is an ideal man: learned (books), practical (the compass and ruler on the table suggest that his education is of the applied sort; courtesy literature urged young gentlemen toward the study of drawing because of its application in military ventures and the like), refined, having achieved sufficient position to allow leisure (the flute), and sport (the hunting horn). Finally, he is a man of the world (open door looking out to a window) and action (sword, hat, coat).

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Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22

I come now to female children and the roles defined for them in courtesy and conduct literature. A majority of writers favored the musical education of girls, though many were unclear about the supposed benefits to accrue therefrom. Mary Granville – the famous Mrs. Delaney, friend of Handel – wrote in the 1730s to her cousin Mrs. Pendarves that she knew of no accomplishment for a lady so great as music, »for it tunes the mind«.<sup>27</sup>

The encouragement of girls toward music was in large part determined by the necessity of keeping young females busy and out of trouble during adolescence and prior to marriage. In fact girls were seldom prepared for any calling other than marriage if they were well-born. Henry Home, Lord Kames, reflects this, writing in 1781: »In this country, it is common to teach girls the harpsichord, which shows a pretty hand and a nimble finger, without ever thinking whether they have a genius for music, or even an ear. It serves indeed to fill a gap in time, which some parents are at a loss how otherwise to employ.«<sup>28</sup>

John Essex in a conduct book published in 1722 confirmed that music »is certainly a very great Accomplishment to the LADIES; it refines the Taste, polishes the Mind; and is an Entertainment, without other Views, that preserves them from the Rust of Idleness, that most pernicious Enemy to Virtue.«<sup>29</sup> Killing time was one issue; keeping girls away from greater evils, as specified by Allatson M. Burgh in 1814, was another:

»Music is not only a harmless amusement; but, if properly directed, capable of being eminently beneficial to his [the author's] fair Countrywomen. In many instances, it may be the means of preventing that vacuity of mind, which is too frequently the parent of libertinism; or precluding the intrusion of idle and dangerous imaginations; and, more particularly among the Daughters of ease and opulence, by occupying a considerable portion of time, may prove an antidote to the poison insidiously administered by the innumerable licentious Novels, which are hourly sapping the foundations of every moral and religious principle.«<sup>30</sup>

Indeed, Burgh's attitude was typical and repeats the views of literally dozens of writers who preceded him.

<sup>27</sup> Mary Granville, The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delaney, ed. Augusta (Wadington) Hall Llanover, 3 vols. (London 1861), vol. 1, p. 435.

<sup>28</sup> Henry Home, Lord Kames, Loose Hints upon Education, Chiefly Concerning the Culture of the Heart (Edinburgh and London 1781), p. 244.

<sup>29</sup> John Essex, The Young Ladies Conduct: or, Rules for Education, Under several Heads; with Instructions upon Dress, both before and after Marriage. And Advice to Young Wives (London 1722), p. 85.

<sup>30</sup> Allatson M. Burgh, Anecdotes of Music, Historical and Biographical; in a Series of Letters from a Gentleman to his Daughter, 3 vols. (London 1814), vol. 1, p. vif. Burgh's book is addressed to his daughter Caroline, to whom he confides in the opening epistle that her education "has not been exclusively directed to subjects of everlasting importance; nor has the history of the world you live in . . . entirely precluded the study of those trifling, yet fascinating accomplishments, which are apparently considered as indispensable in the modern system of female education (pp. 1f.). He confirms that her study of music has by necessity sacrificed a good deal of time "which might perhaps have been more profitably, but certainly not more agreeably employed (p. 2). Furthermore, as if to save her some time in the future, he has taken upon himself the task of sketching a history of "this charming science in order to relieve Caroline "from the toil of travelling through huge volumes, equally learned and uninteresting; in search of those amusing anecdotes, which are ever interwoven with the study of the liberal arts, and the refinements of polished society (p. 2). In a footnote to the last remark, Burgh states that "Should any one of our fair readers doubt the truth of this assertion, she is requested to dip into any treatise on music that has ever been written; she will then learn to appreciate her obligations to those who would emancipate her from the drudgery of extracting a few grains of precious metal from the mighty mass of heterogeneous ore with which those mines of information usually abound (p. 2).

Females, young and old alike, lived out their lives within the confines (metaphorical or literal) of domestic walls. They spent their time learning and practicing the so-called »accomplishments«: politeness, dress, drawing, needlework, and music. Women, charged with one essential task, producing children, were otherwise ornaments to men. Beyond that single obligation, the greatest challenge to the females of the leisured classes was how to be leisured. Fashion prints (figs. 23 and 24) visually reinforce women's ornamental function: women appear lavishly dressed, but for no apparent reason; alone with their music (the English guitar), and bored, as evinced by their utterly blank countenances – though, to be sure, the boredom is here treated virtually as a sign of social status. The same stifling atmosphere pervades a 1780s illustration called Morning Employments (fig. 25) where most of the accomplishments are displayed, together with attributes of motherhood (a child clinging to his mother's knee – not by accident the ideal offspring is male) and fidelity (the dog, quadruped surrogate for the husband/father out and about his worldly responsibilities). Moreover, the atmosphere is fundamentally asocial; the women seem self-absorbed and isolated.

The same dismal situation pervades a portrait of a stern-faced Lady Jane Mathew observing her daughters at needlework and drawing (fig. 26). All four sitters are serious, humorless. One looks down at her sewing, another stares off into space, perhaps at the objects she draws. No eyes meet those of the viewer (the standing woman looks toward – but not at – us; she stares off into space). But what is more striking in this portrait of four women spaced closely together is that they do not interact. Their demeanor echoes the confinement of their status, the imprisonment of their accomplishments, their life of ceaseless deferring.

This contrasts sharply with the situation of men (fig. 27), in this case a group of gay blades in Rome on the Tour about 1750, the male version of finishing school for the upper classes, often for parents lamentably expensive. Their chief "accomplishment" is freedom: they live in the world in which all is open to them. They carry their swords – signifiers of rank, responsibility, authority, virility – with ease. They are swagger and pretension. Rome, city of destiny, is their backdrop, a setting conducive to the full enjoyment of their rite of passage into adulthood. The young men pose in front of place-defining ruins, the Colosseum and Arch of Constantine, the architecture as rigid and timeless as the sitters are relaxed and fashionable. The contrast is perfect and complete: theirs is the vital, flourishing present, essentially that which matters. Rome is at their feet, picturesque and charming, to be sat upon or leaned against and occasionally gestured toward, but not really studied (the gestures are vague to say the least) – and clearly not held in awe à la Goethe or Winckelmann. Fundamentally, Rome is simply being "done" by a tour group most interested in its own collective social life abroad ("herding together", to use Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's complaint). 32

<sup>31</sup> The harpsichord illustrated carries the label Thomas Kirkman. The London harpsichord makers named Kirckman were Jacob, Abraham and Joseph; there was no Thomas.

<sup>32</sup> Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, The Complete Letters, ed. Robert Halsband, 3 vols. (Oxford 1965–1967), vol. 3, p. 159. See further the exhibition catalogue by John H. Plumb, with catalogue entries by Edward J. Nygren and Nancy L. Pressly, The Pursuit of Happiness: A View of Life in Georgian England, Yale Center for British Art (New Haven 1977), p. 36, no. 30. The image accurately reflects the behavior of young men abroad. On the Tour most picked up little more than a veneer of good breeding. Typically more time was spent at tea than in a gallery or church. Numerous writers of the period decried the money parents wasted on their male offspring for this adventure. Dr. John Moore, for example, described a young English man in Rome who was disinclined to devote two or three hours

In a family portrait from the early nineteenth century (fig. 28), this time representing a middle-class family, the same sex-role differences are bespoken. Women sit; men stand. One pose signals passivity, the other activity. Females are garbed for the interior; the boys, ready for the world outside, wear coats (and one a hat). The girls read and play the piano. One boy holds a flute (it is portable and easily disassembled; men took flutes with them outdoors) and the other a cricket bat. The slight girl at the keyboard is the antithesis of her sportive, beefy brother beside her. The small boy in the center foreground holds a ball (an object to be thrown, implying action and perhaps aggression – his is not the face of a nice child); the small girls at the right, analogues to him, stand within the protection of their mother's chair, as the smallest seems to sway tentatively and unobtrusively in time to the music. By contrast to the ball, the women's object is a basket with its lid off atop the table: baskets receive; they are signs of passivity.

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To clarify the evident differences between images of males and females, a few things need to be said about male attitudes toward women and women's social roles, since it was men who determined these roles. No male states the predominant view more plainly than Lord Chesterfield, in another of his letters of advice to his natural son:

»Women, then, are only children of a larger growth; they have an entertaining tattle, and sometimes wit; but for solid reasoning, good sense, I never knew in my life one that had it, or who reasoned or acted consequentially for four-and-twenty hours together. . . . A man of sense only trifles with them, plays with them, humors and flatters them, as he does with a sprightly forward child; but he neither consults them about, nor trusts them with serious matters; though he often makes them believe that he does both; which is the thing in the world that they are proud of; for they love mightily to be dabbling in business (which by the way they always spoil); and being justly distrustful that men in general look upon them in a trifling light, they almost adore that man who talks more seriously to them, and who seems to consult and trust them; I say, who seems; for weak men really do, but wise ones only seem to do it. No flattery is either too high or too low for them. They will greadily swallow the highest, and gratefully accept of the lowest.«<sup>33</sup>

Henry Home, Lord Kames, complements Chesterfield in a no less gloomy pronouncement well within the bounds of predominant ideology:

»it is the chief duty of a woman, to make a good wife. To please her husband, to be a good oeconomist, and to educate their children, are capital duties, each of which requires much training. . . .

a day for a month or six weeks studying the city's monuments: he felt that the only advantage to the activity was being able to say that one had been there. This he accomplished in two days by hiring a post chaise and four horses to whirl him past »churches, palaces, villas, and ruins, with all possible expedition«, rather in the manner of half-day bus tours of Rome available today. See John Moore, A View of the Society and Manners in Italy: with Anecdotes relating to some Eminent Characters, 2 vols. (London 1781), vol. 1, pp. 488f. For every serious student on the Tour there were far greater numbers of dilettantes and playboys. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in 1740 wrote to her friend Lady Pomfret (one-time Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Caroline) on the behavior of young Englishmen: »Their whole business abroad (as far as I can perceive) being to buy new cloaths, in which they shine in some obscure coffee-house, where they are sure of meeting only one another; and after the important conquest of some waiting gentlewoman of an opera Queen, who perhaps they remember as long as they live, return to England excellent judges of men and manners. I find the spirit of patriotism so strong in me every time I see them, that I look on them as the greatest blockheads in nature; and, to say truth, the compound of booby and petit maître makes up a very odd sort of animal« (vol. 2, p. 177). She later wrote to her daughter Lady Bute that the young men »return no more instructed than they might have been at home by the help of a Map. The Boys only remember where they met with the best Wine or the prettyest Women« (vol. 2, p. 495). Cf. vol. 3, p. 148.

33 Stanhope (footnote 18), vol. 1, p. 107, letter no. 49, September 5, O.S 1748.

Women, destined by nature to be obedient, ought to be disciplined early to bear wrongs, without murmuring. This is a hard lesson; and yet it is necessary even for their own sake: sullenness or peevishness may alienate the husband; but tend not to soothe his roughness, nor to moderate his impetuosity. Heaven made women insinuating, but not in order to be cross: it made them feeble, not in order to be imperious: it gave them a sweet voice, not in order to scold: it did not give them beauty, in order to disfigure it by anger.«<sup>34</sup>

Lord Kames summarizes the male role in relation to the female with a simple statement: »A man indeed bears rule over his wife's person and conduct: his will is law.«

Finally, Robert Burton, in The Anatomy of Melancholy (1621), preceding Lord Kames by 160 years, stated the issue simply: »Vertuous women should keepe house.«35

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There seems to be little question that musical skills were valued as one of the domestic talents a man sought in a wife. As Jonas Hanway obliquely expressed it: »At the same time I must add, with all due respect to the female world, . . . that it seems to be no unlucky circumstance to the man to whose lot the most accomplished young lady-musician may fall, if she has been also taught the science of housewifery, especially if her husband should be of a true English taste.«<sup>36</sup>

The Rev. John Bennett held that music was a »very desirable acquisition in any woman«, so long as she had both the time and money for the accomplishment. He defined music's benefit as increasing happiness, inspiring tranquility, and harmonizing the mind and spirits, during those »ruffled or lonely hours, which in almost every situation, will be your lot«.<sup>37</sup>

The boredom of housewifery for the upper-class woman is tacitly acknowledged by both male and female writers. Yet when it comes to music, that seemingly innocent devourer of time (music »is to Delight the Sadness of the Mind, and Tune over Melancholy Hours«) not only is the performance to be in private company, among family and friends, but the woman is further cautioned that she treat it »Carelessly like a Diversion, and not with Study and Solemnity, as if it was a Business, or yourself overmuch Affected with it«.<sup>38</sup>

An anonymous pamphlet from about 1778 holds that female children showing the least propensity for music should certainly be given training, yet not so as to form them into fashionable ladies with ostentatiously displayed talents rivaling theatrical performers, but instead \*\*to amuse their own family, and for that domestic comfort, they were by Providence designed to promote\*\*.

- 34 Home (footnote 28), pp. 228f. On the severe limitations placed on women, see Jarrett (footnote 23), p. 107.
- 35 Robert Burton, The Anatomy of Melancholy (Oxford 1621; Amsterdam and New York 1971), p. 704. The book reached an eighth edition by 1676. The bibliography on the status of women in the eighteenth century is growing significantly. Among recent studies see especially Lawrence Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800, abridged version (New York 1979), and an important challenge to Stone's thesis re increasingly egalitarian marriages in the eighteenth century by Susan Moller Okin, Patriarchy and Married Women's Property in England: Questions about Some Current Views, in: Eighteenth-Century Studies 17, no. 2 (Winter 1983/84), pp. 121–138. (Okin also discusses Randolph Trumbach, The Rise of the Egalitarian Family [New York 1978].) Finally, for a more general survey see Jarrett (footnote 23), pp. 103–150, passim.
- 36 Jonas Hanway, Thoughts on the Use and Advantages of Music, & Other Amusements Most in Esteem in the Polite World (London 1765), pp. 63 f.
- 37 John Bennet, Letters to a Young Lady, on a Variety of Useful and Interesting Subjects Calculated to Improve the Heart, to form the Manners, and Enlighten the Understanding, 2 vols. (Warrington 1789), vol. 1, p. 234.
- 38 Anonymous female author, The Whole Duty of a Woman, or a Guide to the Female Sex. From the Âge of Sixteen to Sixty, 3rd ed. (London 1701), pp. 48f.
- 39 Euterpe; or, Remarks on the Use and Abuse of Music, as a Part of Modern Education (London c. 1778), p. 18. On the authorship of this essay see Kassler (footnote 19), vol. 2, pp. 1107–1109.

The operative word here is family; a woman's talents were to flower only within the home. Ann Ford (fig. 29), third wife to Philip Thicknesse, is a case in point. She was an accomplished musician who sang, played the English guitar, the viola da gamba, and the musical glasses, for which she wrote a tutor book. But she was allowed by her father to give concerts solely at home. When she was twenty-three he had her arrested and confined to prevent her from performing in public. She later made a second (and ultimately successful) attempt to give a concert, but not before she was arrested again. She escaped and proceeded to schedule a subscription for March 18, 1760. "But Ann had not reckoned on her obdurate father, who had all the streets round the theatre occupied by Bow Street runners, and they were only dispersed when Lord Tankerville threatened to send a detachment of the Guards. Naturally after such publicity there was a rush to buy up the tickets and in no time a sum of £ 1,500 was quickly subscribed. (Her career ended when she left London in 1762 with her friends the Thicknesses; she married Philip after the death of his wife Elizabeth.) The portrait interests me particularly because it was painted at the time of Ann's dispute with her father (the painting was likely commissioned either by him or Philip Thicknesse whom she married in 1762).

Gainsborough sets Ann Ford in a non-specific space which can nevertheless only be classified as domestic, judging from the carpet and the table she leans on. Only the elaborate drapery at the back and the viola da gamba hanging on the wall seem explicitly theatrical. Ann herself is painted as a figura serpentinata, a form more or less echoed by the shapes of the musical instruments.

Taken independently, a figura serpentinata suggests motion. Motion (action) is complementary to freedom. Yet I take this portrait to signal social limitations bordering on oppression, whether of an individual or of her gender in general. To begin, the serpentine line Gainsborough employed in this and other portraits of seated women is gender specific. The formal aesthetic is not devoid of meaning, though I will only hint of the historical significations of this assertion by formulating two questions: Is the curvilinear form merely reflective of timeless, autonomous standards of beauty, not to mention the female anatomy? Or is the serpentine line also, dialectically, reflective of specific, historically based male suspicions about womanly cunning? What can be said with regard to this portrait is that the (liberating) motion inherent in the serpentine form is fully contained, thus creating a tension: Ann Ford has at least metaphorically been »tamed«.

She sits with legs crossed, from which position only rest can be assumed. More important, she has been silenced as a musician, in spite of the fact that she is surrounded by musical instruments. Her viola da gamba now hangs on the wall – in a position that virtually turns it into an emblem of taste and status, and away from its being a functioning instrument. Moreover, in the eighteenth century the viola da gamba was normally played in duet (at the least) with a keyboard instrument. The absence of such an instrument to complete an ensemble strengthens the isolation of this woman who desired a public career.

<sup>40</sup> Philip Gosse, Dr. Viper: The Querulous Life of Philip Thicknesse (London 1952), pp. 129–132; the quotation is from p. 130. For a discussion of Gainsborough's portrait, see pp. 251–255, especially regarding the artist's interest in Miss Ford's viola da gamba; Michael I. Wilson, Gainsborough, Bath and Music, in: Apollo 105 (1977), pp. 108f.; and also the exhibition catalogue, Gainsborough and his Musical Friends (London 1977), no. 16. For another account of the behavior of Ann Ford's father regarding her musical career, see Aaron Crossley Hobart Seymour (ed.), The Life and Times of Selina [Hastings], Countess of Huntington [1707–1791], 2 vols. (London 1840), vol. 2, pp. 203–205. For Philip Thicknesse's own account of the portrait and of the viol, see his A Sketch of the Life and Paintings of Thomas Gainsborough, Esq. (London 1788), pp. 17–31.

Moreover, Ann's pose precludes her playing the English guitar in her lap. One hand gingerly touches her head, the other delicately fingers the instrument's back strap. The very delicacy of her touch (Gainsborough is phenomenally adept at showing this) has a poignancy that is unnatural, strengthening our awareness of her pose. Beyond that, her music books atop the table are closed and the single sheets of music are half covered. There is no concert here, not even in private.

It is noteworthy that the English guitar she holds is a solo instrument used almost exclusively in the home and played virtually always only by women. Its very presence, and the functional precedence it takes here over the viola da gamba, thus defines the gender role appropriate to her as a daughter and a future wife. Ann Ford's musical talent, in other words, is not simply proclaimed here, it is also specifically controlled. External control is also manifested by the turn of her head: she looks away from the viewer toward nothing we can share. By not meeting our eves she herself is more easily looked at, hence objectified.

Many women seem to have become decent musicians, if only because they had few other ways to spend their time. The feminist writer Hannah More correctly recognized that women's study of music co-opted their study of subjects the knowledge of which would place them on more egual footing to men. In her Strictures on the Modern System of Female Educations she indicates, via a footnote, that she has received »from a person of great eminence« a calculation of the hours of practice one young lady devoted to her music. More repeats the calculation as a generalizeable supposition, and accompanies it with the ironic claim that the individual on whom it is based wis now married to a man who dislikes music!«

»Suppose your pupil to begin at six years of age and to continue at the average of four hours a-day only, Sunday excepted, and thirteen days allowed for travelling annually, till she is eighteen, the state stands thus; 300 days multiplied by four, the number of hours amount to 1200; that number multiplied by twelve, which is the number of years, amounts to 14,400 hours!«41

In a conduct book published in 1809, Mary Cockle makes reference to »a sort of musical mania« infecting all but the lowest ranks of female society. On the one hand, she admits to being one of the greatest admirers of music, allowing »all the (almost celestial) attractions of this delightful accomplishment«; but on the other, she laments the enormous amount of time - she suggests four or five hours a day - »stolen from the cultivation of the head and the heart«, that is, from far superior kinds of learning. She suggests that the acquirement of perfection in music is »very dearly purchased«, unless young females are aiming towards a professional career. 42

42 Mary Cockle, Important Studies, for the Female Sex, in Reference to Modern Manners; Addressed to a Young Lady of Distinction (London 1809), pp. 241f. Cf. Mary Wollstonecraft, Thoughts on the Education of Daughters: with

Reflections on Female Conduct, in the More important Duties of Life (London 1787), pp. 25-29.

<sup>41</sup> The full title is >Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education. With a View of the Principles and Conduct Prevalent Among Women of Rank and Fortune, 2 vols. in 1 (Charlestown 1800). The quotation is from vol. 1, p. 49. The book was first published in 1799 and reached a seventh edition that same year; it was printed in other editions as late as 1830. According to Hannah More's biographer, 19,000 copies of the book were sold during her own lifetime. See Kassler (footnote 19), vol. 2, pp. 782-784. Hannah More admitted that »a well-bred young lady may lawfully learn most of the fashionable arts«, though she was inclined to believe that these arts were not »the true end of education«. She maintained the traditional view that the ultimate profession for women was that of mistress of the family. In this role the arts »merely embellish life«, and though they are admired, a young man seeking to marry wants a companion and not an artist. To be accomplished is not enough; a man demands a wife who can comfort, counsel, reason, reflect, feel, judge, act, discourse, and discriminate (vol. 1, pp. 60f.). The difference between this view of female domesticity and those discussed previously is that Hannah More seems to provide for significant interaction between husbands and wives, though she holds to the usual view of women's roles.



Fig. 23



Fig. 24





Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28



Fig. 29

In the late sixteenth century Richard Mulcaster addressed the question of »how much a woman ought to learne«. His answer: »so much as shall be needefull«.<sup>43</sup> In practical terms the answer varied according to one's social class. The question became more pressing in the eighteenth century when a degree of upward mobility was possible for all classes, so that the lower orders aped the middle classes, the middle classes the upper classes. Writers expressed concern, in some cases outrage, at the display of social mobility; music was often on their minds. As Jonas Hanway had it, music »is most to be esteemed in women, and in women of fortune and polite education; for others can hardly find time to apply to it«.<sup>44</sup>

Priscilla Wakefield divided women into four classes: a superior class of nobility; a second of women who drew their resources from hereditary possessions; a third, tradesmen's daughters below the merchant but above the meaner mechanic; a fourth, the laboring poor. Music was appropriate to the first two classes. Among women of the first class music constituted one of the »lighter studies«, one of the »sources of the most refined entertainment«. The story changed with regard to the less fortunate. Wakefield lamented that tradesmen and mechanics, fond of educating their daughters for gentility, spent more money than they could afford. These young women, says Wakefield,

»should not only be prohibited from learning the ornamental arts, such as music, dancing, drawing, foreign languages, and costly works of taste, . . . but they should never be placed at a school where those arts are taught; for it is a natural propensity of the human mind, to prefer that which is beautiful and pleasant, to those things which though useful are unadorned. Respectable schools, not aiming at gentility, as it is usually termed, should therefore be established for the express purpose of educating young women of this class, where they might acquire whatever knowledge is conducive to render them useful in their station, without having their simplicity corrupted by an intercourse with those, who have a reasonable title to the indulgences of affluence, and the acquisition of liberal accomplishments.«<sup>46</sup>

By the end of the eighteenth century acquirement of the ornamental accomplishments among the lower middle orders was no longer particularly controversial, though it was still objected to. In general, the ambitious middle-class male parent seeking these acquirements for his daughters succeeded only in making a fool of both himself and his ward – at least as a stock figure in caricature, in literature and on the stage.<sup>47</sup> Arthur Young, writing in the Annals of Agriculture, noted his considerable annoyance at finding a pianoforte in a farmer's parlor: »I always wish [it] was burnt. <sup>48</sup> Allatson Burgh in 1814 sarcastically noted that »the Daughters of Mechanics, even in humble stations, would fancy themselves extremely ill-treated, were they debarred the Indulgence of a piano-forte«. <sup>49</sup> Finally, a distinctly ill-spirited, anonymous statement published in the Agentleman's Magazine in 1801 reflected clearly the underlying class consciousness affecting these attitudes: »Instead of dishing butter, feeding poultry, or curing bacon, the avocations of these young ladies at home are, studying dress, attitudes, novels, French and musick, whilst the fine ladies their mothers sit lounging in parlours adorned with the fiddle faddle fancy work of their daughters. <sup>50</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Mulcaster (footnote 22), vol. 2, p. 179.

<sup>44</sup> Hanway (footnote 36), p. 63.

<sup>45</sup> Priscilla Wakefield, Reflections on the Present Condition of the Female Sex; with Suggestions for its Improvement (London 1798), pp. 90f.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., pp. 58f.

<sup>47</sup> Jarrett (footnote 23), p. 73.

<sup>48</sup> Vol. 17, p. 156. Quoted from Dorothy Marshall, English People in the Eighteenth Century (London 1956), p. 237.

<sup>49</sup> Burgh (footnote 30), vol. 1, pp. vf.

<sup>50</sup> Vol. 71, p. 587. Quoted from Marshall (footnote 48), p. 238.

The farmer's daughter seeking the accomplishments appropriate to her social betters was meanly satirized by the always trenchant James Gillray (fig. 30) in a print from 1809. The older generation of women gossip cattily behind a fan, having already examined the needlework signed »B[etty] Giles« atop the table. Farmer Giles and his wife feel satisfaction and give encouragement as daughter Betty, upon her return from boarding school, demonstrates her talents on the square piano in a rendition of the >Bluebells of Scotland<, hardly high art but apparently all she can handle – and clearly more than her younger, grimacing sister is able to sing.

Betty's needlework is no better. A framed sampler on the back wall, signed by the young girl at age sixteen, includes an alphabet in upper and lower case, numbers from one to twelve, a proverb (»Evil communications corrupt good Manners«) and a pair of birds flanking entwined hearts. Betty's drawing is a good deal worse; her rendition of the family estate, titled >Cheese Farm <(!) shows elementary problems with perspective: in the foreground a woman milks a cow, beside which stands a gigantic rooster; a two-storey-tall horse(!) looms above the cottage roof in the background.<sup>51</sup>

\* \* \*

Some writers voiced the complaint that women who study music while they are young, either to delight their parents or to help acquire a husband, give it up when they reach adulthood or when they marry. According to Richard Mulcaster, writing at the end of the sixteenth century,

»Musicke is much used, where it is to be had, to the parentes delite, while the daughters be yong, more then to their owne, which commonly proveth true, when the yong wenches become yong wives. For then lightly forgetting Musicke when they learne to be mothers, they give it in manifest evidence, that in their learning of it, they did more seeke to please their parentes, then to pleasure themselves.«<sup>52</sup>

Robert Burton agrees: »Our young women and wives, they that being maids took so much pains to sing, play, and dance, with such cost and charge to their parents to get those graceful qualities, now being married will scarce touch an instrument, they care not for it. «<sup>53</sup>

No writer better expresses this phenomenon than Jane Austen in Sense and Sensibility (1811):

»In the evening, as Marianne was discovered to be musical, she was invited to play. The instrument was unlocked [a wry hint at what is to follow!], every body prepared to be charmed, and Marianne, who sang very well, at their request went through the chief of the songs which Lady Middleton had brought into the family on her marriage, and which perhaps had lain ever since in the same position on the pianoforté, for her ladyship had celebrated that event by giving up music, although by her mother's account she had played extremely well, and by her own was very fond of it.

Marianne's performance was highly applauded. Sir John was loud in his admiration at the end of every song, and as loud in his conversation with the others while every song lasted. Lady Middleton frequently called him to order, wondered how any one's attention could be diverted from music for a moment, and asked Marianne to sing a particular song which Marianne had just finished. Colonel

<sup>51</sup> See Mary Dorothy George, Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, vol. 8 (1801–1810), (London 1947), pp. 885f., no. 11444.

<sup>52</sup> Mulcaster (footnote 22), vol. 2, p. 177.

<sup>53</sup> Robert Burton (footnote 35), 6th ed., 3 vols. (New York and London 1932), vol. 3, p. 177. Burton added new material to each successive edition. This passage does not occur in the first edition. The sixth is the first posthumous edition – Burton died in 1640. This passage is also quoted by Henry Davey, History of English Music, 2nd ed. rev. (London 1921), p. 176.

Brandon alone, of all the party, heard her without being in raptures. He paid her only the compliment of attention; and she felt a respect for him on the occasion, which the others had reasonably forfeited by their shameless want of taste.«54

Jane Austen returns to this subject in Emma (1816), when a conversation ensues between the young musical devotee Emma Woodhouse and the awful, even detestable, Mrs. Elton, who makes unbelievable protestations to being passionately fond of music:

[Mrs. Elton to Emma:] »I hope we shall have many sweet little concerts together. I think, Miss Woodhouse, you and I must establish a musical club, and have regular weekly meetings at your house, or ours. Will it not be a good plan? If we exert ourselves, I think we shall not be long in want of allies. Something of that nature would be particularly desirable for me, as an inducement to keep me in practice; for married women, you know – there is a sad story against them, in general. They are but too apt to give up music.«

[Emma responds:] »But you, who are so extremely fond of it – there can be no danger, surely.«

»I should hope not; but really when I look round among my acquaintance, I tremble. Selina has entirely given up music – never touches the instrument – though she played sweetly. And the same may be said of Mrs Jeffereys – Clara Partridge, that was – and of the two Milmans, now Mrs Bird and Mrs James Cooper; and of more than I can enumerate. Upon my word it is enough to put one in a fright. I used to be quite angry with Selina; but really I begin now to comprehend that a married woman has many things to call her attention. I believe I was half an hour this morning shut up with my housekeeper.«55

This situation is perhaps best summarized by the character Mask in the 1762 London comedy The Musical Lady by George Colman, given at the Theatre Royal: »I dare say this passion for music is but one of the irregular appetites of virginity: You hardly ever knew a lady so devoted to her harpsichord, but she suffered it to go out of tune after matrimony.«<sup>56</sup>

56 56 56

I have been citing texts written across a considerable span of time – from the late sixteenth century into the second decade of the nineteenth. The textual genres run a gamut from courtesy literature to educational tracts to the novel, to stage plays. Yet whatever the differences in time and type of discourse, there is consistent import among them vis-à-vis the relation between the role of women (mostly those with social status) in marriage and the function of music in their lives. The underlying subject of these diversions is the relationship of men to women defined by the ideological linchpin of sexist male domination. For all practical purposes, in the common regard of men for women in eighteenth-century English upper-class society, there survived an ancient ideology, given life in social structures, identifying women as part of men's property. And with regard to imagery, the conventions of portrait paintings, especially of family groups, keep within compositional parameters that visually confirm this phenomenon.

Arthur Devis's Rookes-Leeds Family portrait (fig. 31) is typical. The paterfamilias stands to one side, in a landscape, looking at his wife and children in all their elegance and accomplishment made possible by wealth and leisure: book learning, needlecraft, and music. Separating the man from his family is an open view of his real estate, the seat of his power and fortune. Everything

<sup>54 (</sup>Harmondsworth 1969), pp. 67f.

<sup>55 (</sup>Harmondsworth 1966), p. 279.

<sup>56</sup> p. 6.

and everyone represent Edward Rookes-Leeds's property.<sup>57</sup> His standing apart emphasizes his separateness and importance, and diminishes all else by comparison.

Devis's portrait of James Clitherow and his wife (fig. 32) is similar. Clitherow holds a spade-like tool known as a »spud«, signifier of his control over his lands – gentlemen-farmers in eighteenth-century England took great pride in agriculture. The couple's home and park fills the background. The estate is well tended and well tamed; the grass is grazed, the river Brent dammed.

The husband stands casually, legs crossed, hand on hip; his facial expression is serious (responsible), almost hard: he is in control. By contrast, his wife sits stiffly, averting her eyes from direct contact with the viewer – unlike her husband whose glance meets us straight on. Her face is not so much serious as expressionless; in English family portraiture it is a face absolutely typical of her sex. She is not in her own world; she is a domestic temporarily and uncomfortably out of doors, her domesticity signified by a musical instrument whose limited dynamic range is as lost in these surroundings as its player. Compositionally, the painting emphasizes the husband just as it directs attention away from his wife. The twin diagonals of his left arm and the »spud« lead to his face, just as the fingerboard of the English guitar points to him. Nothing, by contrast, draws or fixes our attention on Mrs. Clitherow. She is de-emphasized in art as in life. 58 She has significance only as an accouterment to her husband.

Devis's portrait of the Maynard family (fig. 33) is rhetorically similar, though compositionally different. The sitters – presumably the wife (playing English guitar?) and two children (the identity of the other woman is uncertain)<sup>59</sup> – are casually posed in the park attached to the family mansion in Cambridgeshire. Sir William is not painted; but his presence is both implied (by the »slot« of picture space on the left which seems strangely empty, as if being held in reserve for him) and felt (by the fact that the estate is well tended, the trees trimmed, the cattle healthy). All is in order and at peace, most notably his family enjoying the easy leisure that Maynard père makes possible.

Sir William was a Whig member of Parliament from 1759 to 1772 (the portrait dates from the beginning of his national service); he is a man of responsibility, representing the greater interests of his district; his absence reflects this fact; it also reflects his strength. He controls his property so well that his own presence is superfluous. His absence, in other words, is a signifier of his power.

Devis's unidentified gentleman and lady at harpsichord (fig. 34) strikes me as a marriage portrait. The couple is young; the room, devoid of furniture except for the harpsichord and its chair, suggests a beginning, a bride brought home. The wealth of the gentleman is evident by the estate visible through the elaborate Venetian window. The paintings on the wall are Italianate – one is of ancient ruins – suggesting that the groom has made the Tour. Now, having returned, he has acquired a wife.

<sup>57</sup> The town may represent Bradford, where Rookes-Leeds »was engaged in the financing of canals, roads, and coal mining ventures«, according to Ellen G. D'Oench in her exhibition catalogue, The Conversation Piece: Arthur Devis & His Contemporaries (New Haven 1980), p. 66, no. 43. Wilfrid Robertshaw, A Local Conversation Piece«, in: The Bradford Antiquary, n.s. 6, part 30 (March 1939), p. 401, claims the town is not identifiable. Robertshaw also suggests (pp. 398, 400) that the women depicted are Rookes-Leeds's four daughters and that his wife is not included. His assessment is surely incorrect; the second woman from the left is much older than the other three. Edward Rookes-Leeds, according to Robertshaw (p. 399), was a spendthrift. In 1780, five years before his death – by his own hand – he owed the staggering sum of £ 60,000. For biographical details on the sitters, see D'Oench, aforementioned.

<sup>58</sup> The Clitherow family were a line of London merchants, and descended from Sir Christopher Clitherow, Lord Mayor of London in 1635. See D'Oench (footnote 57), pp. 62f., no. 37.

<sup>59</sup> See ibid., p. 64, no. 38.

The visual metaphor for marital fidelity and domestic bliss is music (a metaphor in use prior to the eighteenth century). The harmony of music is signifier of the harmony of matrimony. That idea is more graphically – and less subtly – conveyed by James Gillray in his Harmony before Matrimony (fig. 35), wherein a loving couple sings to the accompaniment of a harp from a book of Duets de l'Amour. Above them is a picture of Cupid in an oval (read ovular, ovum) frame. Cupid has dropped his quiver of arrows, taken up a blunderbuss, and aimed at the two little doves cooing atop a birdhouse; they will experience love with a vengeance. Trophies of Hymen's torch and Cupid's quiver flank the picture. To the left of the lovers a Chinese-style vase – containing roses, of course – is decorated to show a man serenading a woman; nearby, the occupants of a fishbowl are about to kiss. Directly below is a heart-shaped vase. Between the two lovers, atop a table, an open book of Ovid's poetry signals passions aflame. The satyr forming a table leg at the far right, and the two libidinously-tempered cats, in a brawl prior to mating, suggest that in reality there is less love here than lust. The satyr forming a suggest that in reality there is less love here than lust.

That the union was not a happy one is clarified by Gillray's companion print, Matrimonial-Harmonics (fig. 36). As the wife screeches out her song (text: "Torture-Fury-Rage-Despair-I cannot cannot bear"), her husband blocks his ear and peruses the 'Sporting Calender. The birds – now cockatoos with three offspring in the nest – are back to back, no longer "speaking". They are no longer free, but imprisoned in a cage – metaphorically standing for marriage – ironically supported by the antlers of cuckolddom. The couple's own squawking offspring appears in the arms of its nurse at the left. The wall thermometer indicates freezing; Cupid lies asleep (or dead) on the mantelpiece, with "Requiescat in Pace" as his motto. The next musical numbers are to be 'Separation a Finale for Two Voices with Accompaniment and 'The Wedding Ring-A Dirges. Hymen (bust on the wall) is diseased, undoubtedly syphilitic. The husband, on the loveseat(!), eats alone. Opposite him, the chair seat intended for his wife holds an open volume, 'The Art of Tormentings'.

In 1775 George Nassau, third Earl of Cowper (1738–1789), commissioned a group portrait (fig. 37) from John Zoffany to commemorate Cowper's marriage with Hannah Anne Gore, youngest of the daughters of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Gore. The setting is Cowper's Villa Palmiere at Fiesole. The conversation piece represents an allegory of marriage built in part around the metaphorical use of musical instruments. Both families are represented. In the center Lord Cowper stands in profile looking to the left at his young wife. Her sister Emily sits at the square piano, and her father, George Gore, plays the violoncello. At the right Mrs. Gore sits with another daughter.

The primary activity in the painting, front and center, is music-making. Both the Gore family and Lord Cowper had well-known musical tastes, as often reported in detail in the Florentine weekly Gazzetta Toscana« in the case of Lord Cowper. Thus a group portrait with music by itself need not surprise. The clavis interpretandi lies in two unusual elements of the composition: first, it is rather odd in a marriage portrait for the loving couple to be standing so decidedly apart – the genre normally demands them to be placed together – and second, Lord Cowper is carefully pointing with the finger of his left hand to the musicians, his young wife looking toward her

<sup>60</sup> See Pieter Jacobus Johannes van Thiel, Marriage Symbolism in a Musical Party by Jan Miense Molenaar, in: Simiolus 2 (1967/68), pp. 91–99.

<sup>61</sup> See George (footnote 51), vol. 8, p. 386, no. 10472; and Draper Hill (ed.), The Satirical Etchings of James Gillray (New York 1976), p. 132.

<sup>62</sup> See George (footnote 51), vol. 8, pp. 386f., no. 10473, and Hill (footnote 61), p. 133.

husband thus to see the gesture. Lord Cowper draws the viewer's attention to the musicians as if to suggest that he knows they come between himself and his bride and that the arrangement is intentional.

Quite fitting, the musical scene itself represents a celebration of and statement on fidelity in marriage, a virtue built upon marital temperance. Musical and marital harmony are possible only when individuals work in consort. Marriage, like music, requires regulation of activity. The music-making is a visual metaphor for the virtue of mesure. (In seventeenth-century emblem books, stringed instruments were commonly used as attributes of the cardinal virtue of temperance or moderation – stringed instruments like Mr. Gore's violoncello are Apollonian; they represent order.)

The musical metaphor is reinforced and given added depth by the painting on the back wall, significantly placed directly behind the bride, representing an allegory of marriage.<sup>63</sup>

The Gore family, apart from the bride herself, provides another level of meaning on the same theme. Not only is Anne's father offering parental advice via the musical metaphor of his violoncello, but his wife and other two daughters may stand for modern analogues to the three Graces Zoffany included in the painting-within-the-painting. The women seem to represent the Charities, inspirers of music, poetry, painting, and sculpture, and thus the epitome of civilized moderation and female accomplishment. Thus Emily, at the piano, represents music; the mother, painted in such a way as to minimize the age differential with her daughter (but wearing a cap and black neckband more common to older women), with her book alludes to poetry; the daughter holding an engraver's burin or a pencil represents the visual arts.

There is a reason why Zoffany went to such effort to construct this detailed allegory on marriage. In brief, the Cowper-Gore marriage was surrounded by a good deal of gossip, having to do in part with the bride's age, sixteen, in comparison with that of her spouse, thirty-seven. Lord Cowper, only shortly before his announced engagement to the girl, had failed in his long attempt to marry an already-married Florentine woman. His sudden engagement to Miss Gore caused tongue-wagging – some hints of it are preserved in the Horace Mann-Horace Walpole correspondence.<sup>64</sup> Zoffany's allegory thus represents at the least a visual attempt to convince Lord Cowper's critics that he loved his wife. And in constructing this somewhat elaborate metaphor the artist chose music as his handmaiden.<sup>65</sup>

63 In the small picture-within-the-picture a couple stands before the statue of Hymen (carrying a bridal torch), son of Apollo and personification of the ancient Greek marriage song. Apollo himself may be present in the form of a young man playing the lyre; his image often functions as an allusion to rational forces and civilization. In the foreground the music of the modern Apollonian strings (the piano) and the singing bride are thus echoed in the painting-within-the-painting in the background. The three Graces stand behind the wedding party as representatives of Venus, goddess of love, whose roses are scattered on the ground in front of the lovers. These women also serve as personifications of beauty, desire, and fulfillment – in this context as signs of perfect union.

But there is also present the antithesis of concord. Iris, the messenger god, hovers protectively over the lovers, her rainbow arc stretching from heaven to earth, as she gestures to the right. There Hercules seizes Calumny (with her attribute the torch) whom two Cupids have unmasked. Hercules prepares to bludgeon her with his club, a metaphorical attribute of Virtue. A man at the left in the shadows of the background holds a pipe to his lips; he may represent the Dionysian winds associated with passion, lust, and humankind's dark side. His huge ass's ears remind us of the stupidity of King Midas who judged the immoderate music of Pan's pipe superior to that of Apollo's lyre.

In the left foreground a mother clutches her infant, whom she has apparently been nursing, as she stares, wideeyed, at Calumny on the opposite side doing battle with Hercules. Her devotion as a mother stands in opposition to the voluptuous female nude on the far right sharing the waters with the river god of the Arno.

64 See Horace Walpole, Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Sir Horace Mann, ed. Wilmarth S. Lewis, et al. (New Haven 1967), vol. 24/VIII, pp. 181f., 187, 190.

65 See also D'Oench (footnote 57), pp. 74f., no. 61. She identifies one of the female sitters differently than I; the woman I believe to be Mrs. Gore she calls a Gore sister, thus leaving the mother out of the picture.









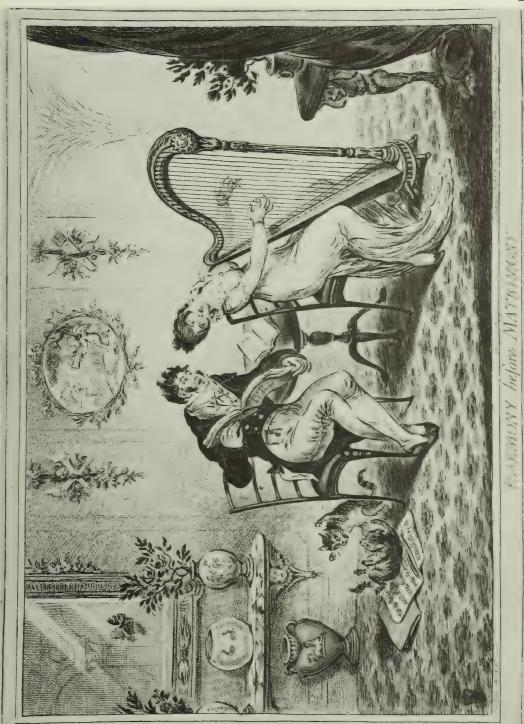


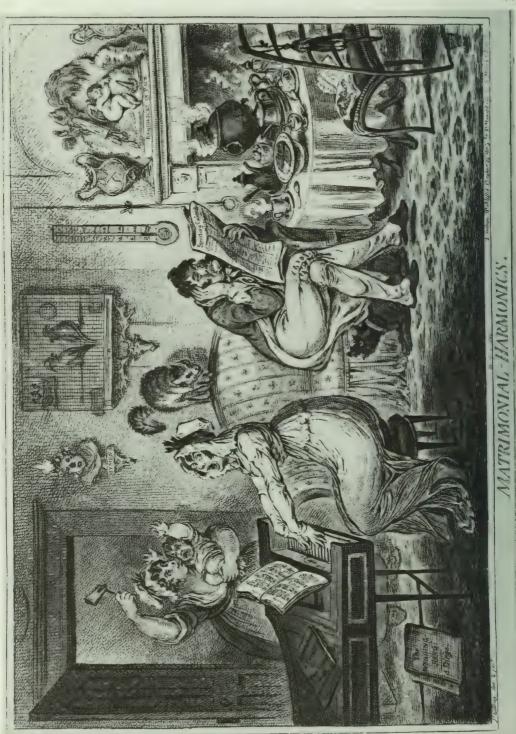


Fig. 33

Fig. 34









By contrast with Zoffany's Cowper-Gore painting, the musical metaphor in Devis's portrait of the unidentified couple (fig. 34) does more than merely signal a union and visually pledge fidelity: it also establishes a hierarchy within the marriage. Devis implies a duet; the husband's violin is atop the harpsichord. But it is the man who calls the tune. He hands the music sheet to his wife who reaches out to accept it and, implicitly, to accept her lot in life as a wife: at once to be protected but also enclosed within the boundaries of the house. He stands nearest the window to the world, she to the darkened corner where the painted memoirs of her husband's life in the world hang above her. And once again, convention demands that he stand and she sit.

The visual rhetoric of the deferring female established by composition, pose, and gesture is often repeated in English portraits. Sometimes even perspective is clumsily altered as the wife is hustled to the background. Thus in a portrait by John Thomas Seton of Colonel Ralph Bates and his wife Anne (fig. 38), the husband stands in the foreground before an open window through which clouds and sky are visible. He breathes the outside air moving the drapery. By contrast, his wife, again seated, is situated in a plane far in recess from that of her husband, so much so that the artist has (mistakenly?) reduced her body size too much. She looks in the direction of her husband but not at him. In fact she stares off into empty space, lost, isolated, "protected« from the air, her cittern<sup>66</sup> as the tangible signifier of her position in life (cf. the women's position in fig. 3 with that of men).

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The most effective signifier of male domination of women in eighteenth-century portraits is the emblematic caged bird. Arthur Devis's portrait of the Rev. Thomas D'Oyly and a woman who must surely represent his wife Henrietta Maria (and not his daughter as has sometimes been suggested) (fig. 39) shows the husband handing his wife a letter he has read and is apparently about to respond to (he holds a quill in one hand and writing supplies are on the table). A one-manual harpsichord stands in back at the right, partly covered by drapery. Thus we know that at least one of the two is musical (almost certainly the woman, since the harpsichord was mostly played by women in eighteenth-century England).

But most interesting about the picture is the birdcage directly above the lady. Metaphorically it stands for the wife: cared for, attended to, and protected by the husband, but not in fact free. (There are actually two birds here: one is real and caged; the other is in »flight« outside the cage, serving as a decorative device on the cord suspending the cage. This second bird, free but not real, represents the antithesis of reality.) The woman's cage is her home: blank wall space, closure.

By contrast, above the Rev. D'Oyly is a landscape painting, that is, open horizon, the world outside the closed and domestic interior. (The painting hangs above the fireplace, archetypal metaphor for the hearth of home which in English society it was the man's duty to protect.)<sup>67</sup>

<sup>66</sup> The instrument is rarely illustrated in paintings. See Anthony Baines, Catalogue of Musical Instruments, Victoria and Albert Museum, vol. 2. Non-Keyboard Instruments (London 1968), pp. 53 f., no. 11/16, and fig. 75, for surviving examples.

<sup>67</sup> See also figs. 23 and 42, which illustrate women dutifully sitting by the fire, keeping the home, literally and metaphorically benefitting from a man's protection. Cf. Jarrett (footnote 23), p. 132: "The social unit was not the individual but the family or the household, a fact which gave great importance to the actual houses in which these units were contained. The possession of a hearth, traditionally the centre and focus not only of the house but also of the people who lived in it, was the thing that defined a man's position and gave him a place in society."

The landscape contains not just scenery, however; it contains action, specifically a hunt (both a dog and a hunting horn are visible). The hunt was an all-male activity among the English upper classes, the sport of killing, which – in the semiotics of actions – ritually asserted male dominance over property of all kinds, and domination of the social order.

A fashion plate for November (fig. 40) by Robert Dighton (in the same series as the drawing, fig. 23) illustrates a lady's fancy attire at the same time it defines her status in relation to that of her husband. In the background behind protective walls is the well-attended estate to which she belongs and from which she has ventured. By contrast, in the foreground she witnesses momentarily a world she has otherwise apparently been excluded from, but which in fact she is a victim of. To her right is a lower-class cottage, mostly hidden by a wooden fence. The condition of both the fence and the cottage meanly and obviously contrast with the estate. To her left, a dramatic and striking image attracts both her eyes and ours. It is a scene of death in two guises, first that of a lifeless tree, in severe opposition to the topiaried (controlled, tended, hence flourishing) evergreens behind the walls of the estate, and, second, hunted birds hanging next to a rifle: trophies of the husband's sport, ritual victims of a male's right to his property. The woman's eyes, focused on the birds, marks the relationship of a well-established visual metaphor.<sup>68</sup>

The D'Oyly portrait (fig. 39) is thought to have been painted shortly after the couple's marriage. In this context the meaning of the piece becomes clearer. Action proceeds from the husband to the wife. He reads the letter and then passes it to her; he will formulate the response (the pen is in his hand). She is passive. The actions open to the wife are those of the home (the lady's cage so to speak), and specifically include music. Music was not only an accomplishment expected of upper-class women, it was also for men a harmless and powerless activity to relegate to women. Rev. D'Oyly's horizons were likely limited in secular society, perhaps by an older brother (archetypal cause of many priestly vocations!). Yet his horizons were limitless by comparison with those of his wife. When Letitia Pilkington married her husband Matthew – a cleric like D'Oyly – »he brought her as bridal gifts a harpsichord, an owl [presumably in a cage], and a cat«69 – in other words, two pets and an instrument, all three of which ratify his expectations of her role.

Joseph Wright of Derby's portrait of Mr. and Mrs. William Chase (fig. 41) repeats the bird vignette – here a parrot resting on Mrs. Chase's hand. (The bird's regular perch is at the window beside Mrs. Chase.) The woman is lavishly dressed. The pet parrot in its own natural, colorful plumage echoes that of the lady whose costume of course is provided for by her husband (cf. fig. 24).

Mr. Chase is the musician in this instance. But the meaning of the flute goes beyond the musical level. It stands for control: he calls the tune, not for the parrot (they don't sing), but for his wife, the other elegant bird in the room. Compositionally, the husband stands outside the

69 Letitia Pilkington, Memoirs, 3 vols. in 1 (London 1748-1754; repr. London 1928, in one volume), p. 3.

<sup>68</sup> Arthur Devis's portrait of the Cross Family (1759) makes use of the dead bird vignette in an even more powerful and direct way. Husband, wife, and small child pose on the grounds of their estate at Shudy Camps Park, Cambridgeshire; the family home is in the background, separated from the sitters by an expansive lawn. Mr. Cross has returned from a hunt; his wife leans against a lifeless tree. He hands Mrs. Cross a small dead bird. Seated on a bench, book in hand, she looks up and quite literally shrinks back from the little carcass being presented to her. On her other side, her husband's hound looks on with interest at the trophy. This painting is reproduced in Sydney H. Pavière, The Devis Family of Painters (Leigh-on-the-Sea 1950), pl. 29. The catalogue entry (no. 28) is on p. 40. See also the brief entry in D'Oench (footnote 57), p. 82, cat. no. 42.

domestic »cage« confining his wife: placing himself before an open window looking out onto a landscape, he effectively blocks her from the outside.

Robert Dighton's watercolor of 'Winter' (fig. 42) and his fashion plate for 'March' (fig. 43) both contain caged birds shown in obvious connection to domestically engaged ladies. In the first the cage once again is suspended directly over the woman's head. She is seated near the hearth (surrogate signifier for her husband), so large as to dominate her by its size. She reads a letter, but sits uncomfortably erect, not relaxed, as if reading is her duty, and as if the epistle is from her husband. She looks up from the text and turns her head in the direction of a window providing a view of the world outside, an all-male world of sport – in this case, skating – where violence occurs; the most prominent image is that of a man taking a hard fall.

In the second Dighton illustration, a lady at her sewing looks out of a window to a storm-tossed boat rocked by waves (cf. fig. 49). The wind bends the trees; a windmill undoubtedly spins. A caged bird by the window echoes her confinement, but in this case serves as the signifier of the protection she is provided, the shelter she enjoys.

English women often kept birds and attempted to teach them to sing. Thus between 1708 and 1730 there appeared four editions of a small tutor book called The Bird Fancier's Delight designed for use with the flageolet or recorder. In a print illustrating this practice (fig. 44) a young woman stares wistfully at a bird, momentarily uncaged, responding to the tune the woman has just played. There is sensitivity and perhaps sadness in the lady's face, as if she empathized with the bird's plight. Male artists present this image, not merely because it was the typical face they saw, but also because the deferring female visage ultimately confirmed for men/husbands that women/wives knew their position. 70

The close association between the kept bird and a wife is evident in an anonymous satirical print published by William Humphrey (fig. 45), 'The Captain's so Kind as to Thrust in a Note, while Old Lady Cuckoo is Straining her Throat«. Via both text and image the association between women and birds is made explicit, as is the ability of males to control (and demean). A sexual connotation to "Thrust in a Note« seems invited: the phallic shape of a stemmed note is clear enough, the obscene gesture of the man's bent arm, his raised leg, and his leer leave little doubt. Music issues from the throat. Here the direction is reversed for the purposes of a sexual pun. The man's "note« is presumably going to be thrust down the lady's straining "throat«. The old woman merely performs music, a demeaned human version of the dancing dog and bear in the prints on the wall. Those being entertained are invariably male in the main scene and in the pictures-within-the-picture. Meanwhile, the parrot on his perch looks passively on.

I want to pursue the caged bird with one more example, among a larger number that exist, this time representing a young girl at her spinet (fig. 46). Here the sense of confinement is nearly absolute: there are no windows to the outside; the girl stares at a wall, her own face averted from the viewer. She is faceless and thus anonymous. Above her a caged owl, age-old attribute of Minerva, goddess of wisdom, is confined; other birds fly around the cage. That the image is emblematic is certain, since no rational person allows a flock of birds in the house. In emblematic

<sup>70</sup> Laurence Sterne, A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy by Mr. Yorick (1768), tells of a caged starling whose cries of »I can't get out – I can't get out « so affected his hero as to engender meditations on imprisonment and slavery. See the critical edition, ed. Gardner D. Stout, Jr. (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967), pp. 195–206 passim. Jane Austen refers to this incident in Sterne in Mansfield Park (London 1814; Harmondsworth 1966), p. 127. I am indebted to Dr. Tilden A. Russell for these references.

literature the cage is an attribute of hope, in the sense that the confined bird hopes for liberation. Similarly, the bird is an emblem for the element of air (which has an obvious association with freedom). The relation between the girl confined to her spinet within the domestic cage and the caged owl around which (lesser!) birds fly is clear. The free birds are tormenting reminders of antithesis, of unavailable freedom. I am reminded here of Roland Barthes' statement concerning drawing, to the effect that discontinuity or visual dissonance (in this case birds in flight) is a signifier:

»The operation of the drawing (the coding) immediately necessitates a certain division between the significant and the insignificant: the drawing does not reproduce everything (often it reproduces very little), without its ceasing, however, to be a strong message. . . . Does the coding of the denoted message have consequences for the connoted message? It is certain that the coding of the literal prepares and facilitates connotation since it at once establishes a certain discontinuity in the image: the execution of a drawing itself constitutes a connotation.«<sup>72</sup>

It is noteworthy that this drawing was executed by a woman, Lady Dorothy Savile, Countess of Burlington; clearly she understood her lot.

It is safe to conclude that the caged bird in these images – save the last by Lady Dorothy Savile – was employed by the artists and seen by most viewers (certainly those who were male) as an untroubled and unproblematic statement about women, their relationships to their husbands and to their society, and the roles allowed them by the dominant culture. Thus to whatever extent this old emblem was still recognized as such (the English after all had little of the taste for emblematic art so appreciated by the Dutch in the previous century), it would have been read as one signalling something like »happiness in captivity«: rarely would the image be intended or be seen to criticize cultural values; it would instead affirm them.

The question is not how the image was "read" in the eighteenth century, but how we read it. The immediate issue the emblem raises in my mind – whether considered in its use on the Continent in the seventeenth century or in England in the eighteenth – is by whose definition is the bird (or whatever it stands for) happy in captivity? It is an emblem that must be read ironically, even cynically. It is an emblem that is highly culturally specific, fundamentally bourgeois (ideologically if not necessarily socially), the product of a "rational" definition of systems of "natural order": with Man (I do not use the word "generically") at the apex of terrestrial order, the rest of creation his to organize into the hierarchy and use accordingly.

But the fundamental point here, of course, is that the caged bird was not a visual device for making statements about animal rights. It was, like all emblems, an image which metaphorically alluded to human concerns, conditions, values, and aspirations. If taken to mean "happy in captivity", the caged bird was a rationalized justification for oppression which proclaimed the naturalness of its demonstrably unnatural premise. The bird raised in captivity may not have any sense that its situation falls outside the natural order. The women in Robert Dighton's fashion

72 Roland Barthes, Rhetoric of the Images, in: Image, Music, Text, trans. Stephen Heath (New York 1977), p. 43.

<sup>71</sup> See further Guy de Tervarent, Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane 1450–1600, 2 vols. (Geneva 1958f.), vol. 1, cols. 58f., and, especially, Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts (Stuttgart 1967), cols. 749–757, for additional information and variant meanings. A caged bird around which other birds fly is an emblem for false friendship. See col. 751. Liberation from the cage in emblematic literature can also allude to eternal freedom through a Christian death; see col. 754. On the relation between male domination of women in the eighteenth century and male fear of female sexuality, especially as discussed by Rousseau and Wollstonecraft, see Cora Kaplan, Wild Nights: Pleasure/Sexuality/Feminisms, in: Formations of Pleasure (London 1983), pp. 15–35.

prints may not have questioned the premise either. (For many women, the question never came up, though the writings of Hannah More and Mary Cockle, which I have quoted, not to mention Mary Wollstonecraft and other late-eighteenth-century feminists, did, however, address the problematic.) But if we are to write a history that is self-conscious of our own values (here pertaining to the concern with sexual oppression), as well as those of the past we study (and it is only within this context that any history can have more than antiquarian value), the dialectical component of ideologies must be acknowledged and accounted for. This is the reason I have problematized this seemingly innocent visual vignette.

Arthur Devis painted Edward Parker with his wife Barbara (1757) (fig. 47) in a way that eliminates the necessity of the emblematic caged bird. Here, Barbara Parker herself is caged behind the iron fence of the estate grounds with her husband effectually guarding the gate. In fact, the gate is open, but it is open only to him. Not only does he control her passage – at the same time he himself is free – but also the opening created for him is achieved by literally enclosing her the more. And as is pretty much standard portrait convention, Barbara Parker registers her deference to her husband by looking at him, not us.<sup>73</sup>

Reynolds's portrait of the daughters of James Paine at first seems different (fig. 48). The two young women at the keyboard face a limitless horizon through the large open window. But the pet dog, half comatose on the chair in the foreground, speaks a different story. It reminds me of the pet pug of Lady Bertram in Jane Austen's novel Mansfield Park. Austen makes indistinguishable any difference between the unconscious lives led by the pet and its mistress, the life of the latter totally confined to needlework and the couch:

»To the education of her daughters, Lady Bertram paid not the smallest attention. She had not time for such cares. She was a woman who spent her days in sitting nicely dressed on a sofa, doing some long piece of needlework, of little use and no beauty, thinking more of her pug than her children, but very indulgent to the latter, when it did not put herself to inconvenience, guided in every thing important by Sir Thomas [her husband], and in smaller concerns by her sister.«<sup>74</sup>

A cleaning of this portrait (fig. 49) revealed that at some point in the painting's history the open horizon had been blocked by the image of the girls' mother. She attends to their practice; she turns her back to the open air; she is what her daughters will become. Mrs. Paine and the dog compositionally frame and metaphorically establish the limits to the future of these young women.<sup>75</sup>

A portrait of the Putnam<sup>76</sup> family (fig. 50) shows striking contrast between the social roles assigned to men and women. The paterfamilias at the extreme right is a successful man of action and of the world. His hand rests on a globe, while directly behind him a ship fires a salute in his honor. Another man stands at the extreme left. Together the two males form an enclosure for the

<sup>73</sup> See further D'Oench (footnote 57), pp. 61f., cat. no. 34. The painting is reproduced in color. D'Oench provides background on the sitters and their landed status. The Parkers lived at Browsholme Hall in Yorkshire.

<sup>74</sup> p. 55. In her novel Persuasion, Austen aptly describes the differences between the duties of the two sexes: "The Mr Musgroves had their own game to guard, and to destroy; their own horses, dogs, and newspapers to engage them; and the females were fully occupied in all the other common subjects of house-keeping, neighbours, dress, dancing, and music« (London 1818; Harmondsworth 1965), p. 69.

<sup>75</sup> The handling of the mother is clumsy. She is too large by comparison with her daughters; the visible hand is poorly executed. Whoever was responsible (surely not Reynolds) knew how to make social sense of the portrait, if not visual sense.

<sup>76</sup> The shield mounted on the fluted pilaster at center has been in part identified; the right half corresponds with the arms of the Sussex branch of the family. See Sacheverell Sitwell, Conversation Pieces: A Survey of English Domestic Portraits and their Painters (London 1936), p. 99, no. 55.

women, an aged mother and her three daughters. One plays a double-manual harpsichord, an elegant and expensive instrument, signifier not only of elevated musical taste but also wealth, both factors reinforced by the elegant architecture. The parrot held by the centrally placed woman in the picture commands attention. The bird – and the garlands of flowers held by the women – give physical form to the decorative role played by the females of the Putnam family.<sup>77</sup>

In portraiture, for women the escape – if it can be called that – from the imagery of domesticity and implicit confinement was metamorphosis into heavenly creatures. Clouds invade the terrestrial sphere of Lady Elizabeth Cromwell (fig. 51) and Mrs. Sheridan (fig. 52), both in the role of Saint Cecilia, an old topos in visual art, here resurrected for use in a secular genre. These are images which must be seen not only as positive statements about the sitters' virtues or accomplishments, but also as ones inadvertently transmitting a negation of any so straightforward a reading. Looked at against the culture of which these women form a part, both paintings imprint deep irony: to become free, Lady Cromwell and Mrs. Sheridan have become unearthly. They are settled into an environment which by its very abandonment of reality only recalls reality the more. It is not accidental that eighteenth-century portrait painters failed to use any remotely comparable topos for male sitters: none was needed. The male counterpart to these well-placed women found sufficient promise in the real world.

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I should like to close with some speculative remarks. What these pictures suggest, I think, is that while women were the sex trained to music, the limitations of their social freedom insured that their skills would seldom have influence. Men, by contrast, though largely discouraged from music, had the social freedom to take it up anyway and play in public if they so desired, whether or not they possessed the requisite skills. The fact that upper-class men were on average so limited as musicians insured mediocrity in eighteenth-century English concert orchestras.

John Potter, in his Observations on the Present State of Music and Musicans (London 1762), wrote that one of the reasons for society's contempt for music was »that it not only requires a particular genius to excell in it, but also a great deal of time to make any progress, and by this means hinders and disqualifies a person for any thing else «. 78 Upper-class men had better things to learn well, whereas their women were qualified by social convention to learn nothing well that had application outside a domestic environment.

Adorno points out that »music has something to do with classes insofar as it reflects the class relationship in toto.« <sup>79</sup> To this statement we can add that music also has something to do with the sexes, whose relationships it also reflects and is to a considerable degree influenced by. Adorno adds that »the factual role of music takes a good deal of its bearings from the reigning ideology, <sup>80</sup> and elsewhere that »participation in musical life depends essentially on material

<sup>77</sup> Cf. a portrait by John Hamilton Mortimer (1741–1789) of the Tyrwhitt-Drake Family at Shardeloes, the family estate near Amersham, Buckinghamshire, reproduced in Sitwell (footnote 76), pl. and cat. no. 103, discussed on pp. 78, 108. The men study house plans. They are shown seated or standing around an enormous globe positioned front and center. A landscape opens up behind them. Two women sit off to one side doing their needlework.

<sup>78</sup> p. 66. See on this book Kassler (footnote 19), vol. 2, pp. 849–853. The general state of affairs is lamented by Thomas Robertson in his tract, An Inquiry Into the Fine Arts (London 1784): » The Taste of England for Music is so subordinate to other greater objects, that more constantly affect it, as to be intermitting, changeable, capricious, and crude« (pp. 430f.). See Kassler, vol. 2, pp. 888–893.

<sup>79</sup> Theodor W. Adorno, Introduction to the Sociology of Music, trans. E. B. Ashton (New York 1976), p. 69.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p. 138.

conditions . . . [including one's] position in the social hierarchy. This is entangled in privilege, and thus ideology. . . . Music is realized in musical life, but that life conflicts with music.« 81

The force of these words is reflected in the images considered here. The ideology of domestic musical life in eighteenth-century England was the determining factor for its social function which was to kill time. Such music, as Adorno says, »parasitically clings to time and ornaments it«. 82 And this function is ideological, for it serves in a way both to confirm and hide the social reality of the eighteenth-century woman. 83

Works of art,<sup>84</sup> as the products of social groups in a given culture, »bear the imprint of the ideas, values and conditions of existence of those groups and their representatives in particular artists«.<sup>85</sup> Most of the pictures considered here – and almost without exception the portraits in particular – were commissioned and paid for by men. The production of such paintings was obviously influenced if not totally governed by this fact. Portraits thus reflect not merely social realities, but also the ideology of the male patron.<sup>86</sup> As Hanna Deinhard suggests, »artists and works of art had their specific function and position within, not outside, the social structure.«<sup>87</sup> The same is true of course for musicians and music.

As for the semiotic structure and ideological imprinting I have suggested in my discussion of the images illustrated here, I am reminded of remarks by Roland Barthes in his essay concerning the plates illustrating Diderot's >Encyclopedia<. He speaks of the plates as a visual inventorying of objects and points out that »inventory is never a neutral idea; to catalogue is not merely to ascertain, as it appears at first glance, but also to appropriate. The >Encyclopedia< is a huge ledger of ownership.« \*8\* The same can be said for the objects (using the term broadly) in pictures – whether we speak of harpsichords, birdcages, great houses, costumes, or even people.

Dr. Johnson once remarked that he »had rather see the portrait of a dog I know than all the allegories you can show me«.<sup>89</sup> Pevsner, in citing this »irritating remark«, notes that it is

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 119.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>83 »</sup>If music really is ideology, not a phenomenon of truth – in other words, if the form in which it is experienced by a population befuddles their perception of social reality – one question that will necessarily arise concerns the relation of music to the social classes« (ibid., p. 55).

<sup>84</sup> John Berger, Ways of Seeing (London 1972), pp. 45–47, offers an explanation of the relationship between the sexes as given form in visual art: »A man's presence is dependent upon the promise of power which he embodies. If the promise is large and credible his presence is striking. . . . The promised power may be moral, physical, temperamental, economic, social, sexual – but its object is always exterior to the man. A man's presence suggests what he is capable of doing to you or for you. His presence may be fabricated, in the sense that he pretends to be capable of what he is not. But the presence is always towards a power which he exercises on others.

By contrast, a woman's presence expresses her own attitude to herself, and defines what can and cannot be done to her. Her presence is manifest in her gestures, voice, opinions, expressions, clothes, chosen surroundings, taste. . . .

To be born a woman has been to be born within an allotted and confined space, into the keeping of men. . . . One might simplify this [Berger concludes] by saying: men act and women appear. « See also Laura Mulvey, Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema, in: Screen 16, no. 3 (1975), pp. 6–18, and Craig Owens, The Discourse of Others: Feminists and Postmodernism, in: The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture, ed. Hal Foster (Port Townsend/Washington 1983), pp. 57–82. Both essays complement Berger's statement and expand upon it within a context larger than visual art.

<sup>85</sup> Janet Wolff, The Social Production of Art (New York 1981), p. 49.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Berger (footnote 84), p. 86: "The Art of any period tends to serve the ideological interests of the ruling class." We need only to extend this to include the ruling sex.

<sup>87</sup> Hanna Deinhard, Meaning and Expression: Toward a Sociology of Art (Boston 1970), p. 101.

<sup>88</sup> Roland Barthes, The Plates of the Encyclopedia, in: New Critical Essays, trans. Richard Howard (New York 1980), pp. 26f.

<sup>89</sup> Nikolaus Pevsner, The Englishness of English Art (Harmondsworth 1976), p. 31.

»massively English« and quotes Fuseli on the British: »Portrait with them is everything. Their taste and feelings all go to realities.« 90 Pevsner correctly points out that »the English portrait also keeps long silences, and when it speaks, speaks in a low voice. . . . Or, to put it differently, the English portrait conceals more than it reveals, and what it reveals it reveals with studied understatement.« 91 All of this is true. The British painted little allegory and their art seldom proclaims. What the British did paint was inventory, and that they may not have shouted about, but they nevertheless presented with a certain smugness and self-satisfaction. »Here it must first of all be remembered that nearly all the greatest painting of the British school is either man observed or nature observed, either portrait or landscape.« 92 And when we speak of pre-Romantic landscape, the term property can be substituted, especially when landscape and portrait were combined as in several paintings discussed here.

Yet none of this fascination with what Fuseli termed »realities« denies the underlying association between image and ideology; indeed, the very earth-bound nature of British art confirms the social function and value of property of all kinds. Jonathan Richardson proclaimed in his ›Essay on the Theory of Painting« (1713) that painting is »one of the means whereby we convey our Ideas to one another«.93

It is through external appearance, taken in totality and in the context of the interactions of subjects and objects that meaning is affixed, social values imprinted: »the literal image is denoted and the symbolic image is connoted.« 94 To understand these two levels we must go beyond the point of studying what Barthes refers to as the mere »enumeration of elements«, and attempt instead to discover »the relation of these elements by virtue of the principle of the solidarity holding between the terms of a structure«. 95 The relation of elements here is between sitters, setting, objects, compositional arrangements, pose, and gesture. These elements come together via the conventions which in turn develop within the context of the values of a cultural code and the intentions of ideology, always of course mediated by the aesthetic consciousness of the artist. 96

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p. 79.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>93</sup> p. v. Quoted from Sir Joshua Reynolds, Discourses on Art, ed., with Introduction, Stephen O. Mitchell (London 1797; repr. Indianapolis 1965), p. xiii. In his Fourth Discourse (1771), Reynolds addresses portraiture and the challenge of the genre to the painter: "A painter must compensate the natural deficiencies of his art. He has but one sentence to utter, but one moment to exhibit. He cannot, like the poet or historian, expatiate, and impress the mind with great veneration for the character of the hero or saint he represents, though he lets us know at the same time, that the saint was deformed, or the hero lame. The painter has no other means of giving an idea of the dignity of the mind, but by that external appearance which grandeur of thought does generally, though not always, impress on the countenance; and by that correspondence of figure to sentiment and situation, which all men wish, but cannot command. The painter, who may in this one particular attain with ease what others desire in vain, ought to give all that he possibly can, since there are so many circumstances of true greatness that he cannot give at all. He cannot make his hero talk like a great man; he must make him look like one. For which reason, he ought to be well studied in the analysis of those circumstances, which constitute dignity of appearance in real life" (p. 43). Reynolds's statement can be carried beyond the figure of the sitter to include everything else represented.

<sup>94</sup> Roland Barthes, Rhetoric of the Images, in: Image, Music, Text, trans. Stephen Heath (New York 1977), p. 37.

<sup>95</sup> See further Barthes (footnote 94), pp. 38-40 and 46.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Roland Barthes, Diderot, Brecht, Eisenstein, in: Image, Music, Text (footnote 94), p. 70: "The tableau (pictorial, theatrical, literary) is a pure cut-out segment with clearly defined edges, irreversible and incorruptible; everything that surrounds it is banished into nothingness, remains unnamed, while everything that it admits within its field is promoted into essence, into light, into view. Such demiurgic discrimination implies high quality of thought: the tableau is intellectual, it has something to say (something moral, social) but it also says that it knows this must be done; it is simultaneously significant and propaedeutical, impressive and reflexive, moving and conscious of the

I have tried to suggest here the relationship between music and art and the cultural and social climate that affects both. The underlying issue is important: precisely because the strength of the relationship between social attitudes and their effect on musical life is so profound. Further, I would suggest that the vividness with which visual art reveals and confirms the relationship between society and the fine arts is unique. With courtesy literature, we read about human ideals, not reality per se. With portraiture, by contrast, we see reality idealized, because the images painted are those of living people shown as they want to be remembered and not necessarily as they actually are. The record of culture is enriched by visual art in a way that texts cannot replicate: namely, with the immediateness and psychological and emotional impact that is only possible through vision. I will end with Jacques Barzun: »Art is of this world, and though it is creative and formative in the exact sense of those words, it is also reflexive. In some fashion, crude or fine, it reenacts our lives – the hidden life, or the public life, or the collective life. . . . Art knows best what we are like.« 97

channels of emotion.« Within the context of Barthes's analysis of the tableau, he comes to the Brechtian concept of the social gest, "a gesture or set of gestures . . . in which a whole social situation can be read." He clarifies: "Not every gest is social: there is nothing social in the movements a man makes in order to brush off a fly; but if this same man, poorly dressed, is struggling against guard dogs, the gest becomes social« (pp. 73f.). I think it is social gest that is evident in the images under discussion: the »conventions« of composition, of the arrangement of sitters, of their interaction or lack thereof, of the things they possess or which possess them and which artists habitually paint: all mean. Cf. John Berger, »The Primitive and the Professional«, in: About Looking (New York 1980), p. 65: »Conventions corresponded so closely to the social experience – or anyway to the social manners – of the class he [the artist] was serving, that they were not even seen as conventions but were thought of as the only way of recording and preserving eternal truths.« Finally, drawing from another Barthes essay (on the writing style of Chateaubriand) Barthes speaks of what he calls »wild parataxis« by which he means Chateaubriand's ability to coordinate grammatical elements (like phrases and clauses) without using coordinating elements, such as conjunctions. He points out that this »device« has »the greatest consequence for the general economy of meaning« and, further, that it »obliges us to seek out meaning«. Precisely the same »wild parataxis« exists in art. The challenge to the viewer, in light of the extreme general economy of meaning, is to seek out meaning by making the connections which are not always obvious. From >Chateaubriand: Life at Rancé<, in: New Critical Essays, p. 48.

<sup>97</sup> Jacques Barzun, The Use and Abuse of Art (Princeton 1975), p. 126.



Fig. 38



Fig. 39



Fig. 40



Fig. 41



Fig. 42



MARCH

MARS.

Fig. 43



Fig. 44



"The Captain's so kind as to thrust in a Q Note?"
"While old Ludy Cuckoo is straining her Throat"

Fig. 45



Fig. 46



Fig. 47



Fig. 48





Fig. 50



Fig. 51



Fig. 52



## On »Reading« Musical Caricatures: Some Italian Examples

## Pierluigi Petrobelli

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- Fig. 2: Pierleone Ghezzi, Bernacchi as Ciro or Evergete in Rome (1731), Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 3116, fol. 151v-152r. Photo: Library
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Musical caricatures have not yet received the kind of attention they deserve. Not that they are unknown or neglected, simply, they are usually considered just an amusing ornament to a book, a sort of »divertimento« for bored musicologists, a relief from more serious, loftier matters. But a musical caricature can be far more than this. The very fact that the artist who drew it took an ironic – and therefore detached – attitude towards his subject may offer valuable information, and can lead us to interesting conclusions; a musical caricature, by its very existence, can enlighten us about the relationships between the artist and his social milieu, and about the position occupied by music and musicians in the society in which they lived and worked. Accordingly, a musical caricature, in order to be properly understood, must be placed in its historical, cultural, and political context; for if its context is ignored, the essential point of its meaning and its message may be lost.

To illustrate my point, I will take a few examples from two different periods, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. All these examples are connected with the world of opera, but I think the conclusions one can draw from them may safely be applied to the musical world at large.

The singer Antonio Bernacchi, a contralto castrato active in Italy, England, and Germany between 1700 and 1735, who was also the founder of one of the most important schools of singing in the eighteenth century, more than once caught the attention of contemporary draughtsmen. The first was Anton Maria Zanetti (1680–1767), who portrayed Bernacchi several

<sup>1</sup> On Antonio Bernacchi, see Lodovico Frati, Antonio Bernacchi e la sua scuola di canto, in: Rivista musicale italiana 29 (1922), pp. 437–491 (it contains some useful information but basically translates into Italian the article on the singer in François-Joseph Fétis, Biographie Universelle des Musiciens, vol. 1 (Paris 1873; repr. Brussels 1963), pp. 367f.; the articles on him by E[milia] Z[anetti] in: Enciclopedia dello spettacolo, vol. 2 (Rome 1954), cols. 346f.; Rodolfo Celletti in: Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, vol. 15 (Supplement) (Kassel 1973), cols. 697f.; Winton Dean in: The New Grove, vol. 2 (London 1980), pp. 613f. (who reproduces the Zanetti caricature discussed here), and related bibliography. Sergio Durante is working on a project on the Bologna schools of singing in the 18th century, of which Bernacchi was one of the outstanding figures; cf. idem, Alcune considerazioni sui cantanti di teatro del primo Settecento e la loro formazione, in: Antonio Vivaldi – Teatro musicale, cultura e società, ed. Lorenzo Bianconi and Giovanni Morelli (Florence 1982), pp. 427–481.

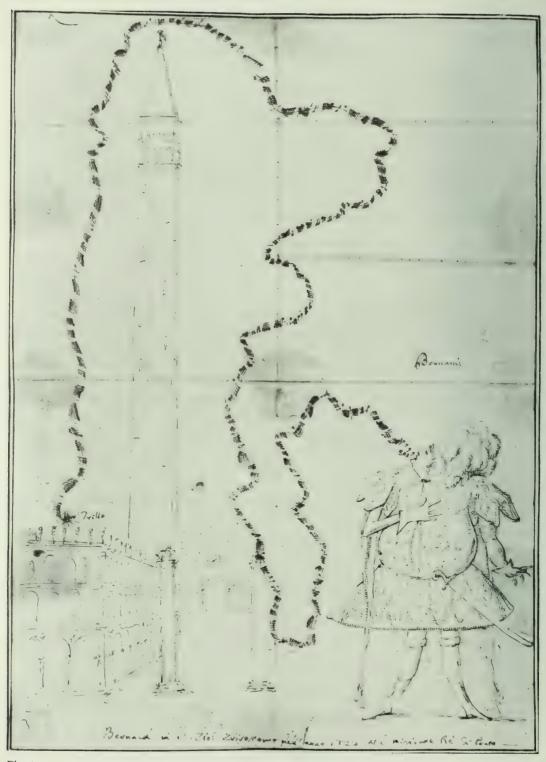


Fig. 1

times; there are no less than six instances in the volume containing caricatures of singers and musicians (as well as of other people) which is now housed in the Cini Foundation of Venice. Without question the most interesting of these Bernacchi caricatures, from our point of view, is the one with which the volume opens (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> In this drawing Bernacchi is identified twice: his name is written above his head, and again at the bottom of the drawing in the caption which specifies the role which Zanetti heard him sing: »Bernach in S. Gio. Grisostomo nell'anno 1723 nel Mitridate Rè del Ponto«. During the performance of Mitridate Re di Ponto, vincitor di sè stesso«, with music by Giovanni Maria Cappelli, during the carnival season of 1723 at the Teatro di S. Giovanni Grisostomo,<sup>3</sup> Bernacchi, who sang the title role, evidently indulged so much in embellishing the ends of his arias with cadenzas, that Zanetti thought it appropriate to emphasize the fact in his caricature. He therefore portrayed Bernacchi in the act of singing one of them: it is shown coming forth from the singer's mouth, first moving snake-like towards the floor, but changing direction suddenly and going upwards towards the sky, so high, in fact, that it goes over the top of St. Mark's bell tower and ends on the opposite side on the roof of »La Zecca« (the Mint) in a »trillo« duly indicated by Zanetti.

It is not by chance, I think, that Zanetti, who himself arranged the order of his drawings in the volume of the Cini Foundation, gave this extraordinary caricature the eminent position it occupies. Making it, so to speak, a frontispiece to the collection, he announces the attitude towards his models that would apply throughout the volume although not as outspoken as in his first drawing. For the world of opera as seen by Zanetti is a world of exaggeration, not so much, or not primarily, in the physical appearance of the musicians, but rather in their attitude towards their activity; it is, in fact, the same attitude as Benedetto Marcello showed it in his celebrated 'Teatro alla moda', published in Venice just a few years earlier. Both Marcello and Zanetti were typical "outsiders" of the world of opera and of professional musicians. In spite of his activity as a composer and even librettist, Benedetto Marcello – a member of the Venetian nobility – may have regarded himself mainly as a letterato and only in a secondary sense as a musician. Among the nobility of Marcello's time, the writing of poetry was significantly more acceptable than the composition of music, and it is doubtful that he ever made a conscious decision to pursue music or poetry: for "a young nobleman instructed in jurisprudence and recognized for an acute intellect the paths to glory lay elsewhere".

With Zanetti the situation is very much the same, even if he was not born of a noble family, and came instead from a property-owning upper-middle-class background.<sup>6</sup> Zanetti, »a man known throughout Europe, visited by the most important persons passing through Venice, in

<sup>2</sup> On Anton Maria Zanetti and his caricatures cf. Alessandro Bettagno (ed.), Caricature di Anton Maria Zanetti – Catalogo della Mostra (Venice 1969; = Cataloghi di Mostre 29); the Bernacchi caricatures are the numbers 1 (with reproduction), 22 (with reproduction), 98, 261, 267, and 300 (with reproduction). For the opening caricature see p. 31 and pl. 1 of the vol.

<sup>3</sup> Taddeo Wiel, I teatri musicali veneziani del Settecento (Venice 1897, repr. Leipzig 1979), p. 68; see also A. Bettagno (footnote 2), p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> On Marcello and his relationship to the world of opera see Eleanor Selfridge-Field, Marcello, Sant'Angelo and »Il teatro alla moda«, in: Bianconi and Morelli (footnote 1), pp. 533–546. For the exact date of publication of ›Il teatro alla moda« (October 1720) see Carlo Vitali, ›»Il teatro alla moda« ha finalmente un editore«, in: Note d'Archivio per la Storia Musicale, n. s. 1 (1983), pp. 245–247.

<sup>5</sup> Selfridge-Field (footnote 4), pp. 533f.

<sup>6</sup> On the social and economic status of Zanetti and his family, see Bettagno (footnote 2), pp. 14f.; at the end of his life Zanetti received from the empress Maria Theresia the title of a Count, ibidem p. 19, note 43.



Fig. 2

close correspondence with erudites, antiquarians and connoisseurs, consulted by the greatest European collectors, a collector himself of the first magnitude not only on the Venetian and Italian scale but on the European one as well«,7 had many activities and interests. Primarily he was an engraver and a draughtsman, he collected prints, paintings, and gems, and built a large private library; he published an illustrated description of the Greek and Roman statues in the public collections of Venice, and a similarly illustrated catalogue of his own collection of ancient gems. Between 1720 and 1722 he collected widely through Europe, visiting Paris, London, and Flanders (several caricatures were made during his stay in England) and promoting the painting, drawing, and engraving of contemporary Venetian artists. Yet, in spite of such intense and demanding activities, Zanetti was still defined, in the caption of a portrait by the painter Marco Ricci, as »egregio dilettante«,8 no doubt because his main income had other sources than his work as an engraver and collector. How much the social and economical conditions, cultural interests and artistic activities of both Marcello and Zanetti determined their ironical and detached view of the world of the opera, is rather difficult to assess; the question, however, cannot simply be dismissed as irrelevant. A comparison with another caricature of Bernacchi may perhaps help to clarify this point. It is by Pierleone Ghezzi (1674-1755),9 the draughtsman who portrayed all Roman society of the first part of the eighteenth century in some ten volumes, each containing about one-hundred caricatures, either full-length portraits or profiles (fig. 2). The caption at the bottom of the drawing reads: »Bernacchi famoso cantante il quale cantò nel Teatro di Alibert nel Carnevale del 1731. fatto da mè Cav. Ghezzi à di 25 Febraro 1731«. 10 Bernacchi sang the title role in both >Ciro riconosciuto (music by Francesco Araya) and >Evergete (music by Leonardo Leo), two of the three operas performed at the Teatro Alibert o delle Dame in Rome during the Carnival season of 1731.11 Given the total indifference to historical accuracy in eighteenth-century theatrical costumes, it is practically impossible - and, quite frankly, irrelevant - to establish which character Bernacchi is playing in the Ghezzi caricature. The most striking feature of this drawing is Bernacchi's physical appearance; everything is enormous: the headgear of feathers, the mouth, chin, and throat, the chest and especially the belly, the waist, the dress, the sword, the train. Each of Ghezzi's full-size caricatures occupies one page of the volume, but one page is not sufficient to portray Bernacchi's portentous dimensions; two adjacent pages are therefore required for this drawing. In this way the reader who is glancing through the volume is forced to give it a 90° turn to the left in order to look at the picture properly. This gesture gives it its full impact; and yet there is no hint in it that what Bernacchi sings on the stage and the way in

<sup>7</sup> Bettagno (footnote 2), p. 14.

<sup>8</sup> Bettagno (footnote 2), p. 17.

<sup>9</sup> On the musical caricatures of Pierleone Ghezzi, their function, and Ghezzi's working method see Pierluigi Petrobelli, Caricature gasparinianes, in: Fabrizio Della Seta and Franco Piperno (eds.), Francesco Gasparini (1661–1727) (= Atti del primo convegno internazionale, Florence 1981), pp. 153–166, and Il musicista di teatro settecentesco nelle caricature di Pierleone Ghezzis, in: Bianconi and Morelli (footnote 1), pp. 415–426; in the latter essay the Bernacchi caricature is published (pl. VII) and discussed (p. 425) in another context. See also the article by Daniel Heartz, Portrait of a Court Musician: Gaetano Pugnani of Turins, in: Imago Musicae 1 (1984), pp. 103–119. – Reinhard Strohm and I are preparing an edition with commentary of the musical caricatures by Pierleone Ghezzi who portrayed all kind of musicians, singers and players, composers and folk-musicians, not only from Rome but also from various European countries; the conclusions proposed here can certainly be applied to the entire Ghezzi repertory.

<sup>10</sup> Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. lat. 3116, fol. 151<sup>v</sup>-152<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> See Alberto de Angelis, Il teatro Alibert o delle Dame (1717-1863) (Tivoli 1951), pp. 155 f.

which he sings it, is as exaggerated as his appearance. Here, it seems to me, lies the basic difference between Zanetti's and Ghezzi's attitude towards their model. Zanetti's attention is addressed towards Bernacchi's performance, Ghezzi's to his extraordinary exterior aspect. This is fully consistent with the attitude of the two artists in their work and therefore towards their models: while the detached Zanetti tends simply to present an ironical view of his subject and of the world he belongs to, Ghezzi aims also at documenting his presence amidst the colorful and cosmopolitan »mondo nuovo« of Rome. (»Mondo nuovo« refers to the present world as opposed to that of the classical antiquity and is the title of Ghezzi's seven-volume collection of drawings in the Vatican Library.)

A different set of problems is set forth by the other caricatures I wish to introduce here. They are by Melchiorre Delfico (1825–1895), a painter of the nineteenth-century Neapolitan school, who specialized in caricatures.<sup>12</sup> Delfico was also in close contact with the musical world in Naples, especially that of the Teatro San Carlo where in 1858 Verdi was supposed to have the première of his newly composed. Un ballo in maschera. Because of the endless objections raised by the Bourbon censorship to both the plot and the wording of the libretto, the opera was premiered not in Naples, but in Rome, on 17 February 1859. Verdi, however, spent the first part of 1858 in Naples and the caricatures of Delfico, which the painter himself sent as a present to the composer, are a sort of visual chronicle of the events of those months and at the same time a gallery of the characters involved.<sup>13</sup>

By 1858 Verdi was the most famous opera composer not only of Italy, but also of all Europe; a new opera by him was bound to excite the curiosity of the musical world at large, to say nothing of the composer's friends. It is perfectly understandable, therefore, that members of Neapolitan artistic circles wanted to attend the rehearsals of the new score; but the composer himself and the theatre's manager adamantly excluded everybody from them. Verdi's friends were therefore obliged to »plot« in various ways, in order to enter the building; they pretended, for instance, to be players in the orchestra, to the great astonishment of the theatre's porter, unable to recognize any of them (fig. 3).<sup>14</sup> Through other caricatures of the same group we can recognize Verdi's friends as they parade under the nose of the astonished man: Baron Genovesi, pretending to be a violinist; Vincenzo Torelli, the music critic, portrayed as a horn player; the poet Nicola Sole to a would-be violinist, and Domenico Bolognese as a false oboe player. These and other characters return in another Delfico drawing among those he sent to Verdi; they are portrayed like conspirators in front of the stage door, locked with a double bolt (fig. 4). <sup>19</sup> From left to right we recognize again Baron Genovesi, Nicola Sole, the critic Torelli, and the poet Bolognese; to the extreme right, in the group of three conspirators without umbrella, the painter Domenico

<sup>12</sup> On Delfico's life and his musical caricatures see A. Lauria, Melchiorre Delfico, in: Ars et Labor (Musica e Musicisti) 61 (1906), pp. 193–202, 289–302, and 385–398. See also Alessandro Luzio, Le caricature verdiane di Melchiorre Delfico, in: Carteggi verdiani 1 (Rome 1935), pp. 313–321, who reproduces, unfortunately for the greatest part only in black and white, the drawings sent to Verdi and kept at Sant'Agata (Busseto), Villa Verdi.

<sup>13</sup> I am most obliged to Alberto and Gabriella Carrara Verdi for allowing me to study the originals of the Delfico caricatures in their possession, to reproduce them in this essay, and for arranging for their reproduction in Busseto.

<sup>14</sup> This colored drawing is only reproduced in black and white in Luzio (footnote 12), no. 12. Almost all of the characters in this and the following caricature return in nos. 46 and 50.

<sup>15</sup> See Luzio (footnote 12), nos. 2, 18, 21, 26, 33, 42, 47, etc.

<sup>16</sup> See Luzio (footnote 12), nos. 2, 46, 50, 68, 69, and especially 51 and 52.

<sup>17</sup> See Luzio (footnote 12), nos. 22, 37, and 46.

<sup>18</sup> See Luzio (footnote 12), nos. 8, 22, 39, 46, and 53.

<sup>19</sup> This colored drawing too is only reproduced in black and white in Luzio (footnote 12), no. 27.



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

Morelli is also clearly recognizable.<sup>20</sup> But the true spirit of the scene, its gist, can be understood only if we place it in the context of the political situation of those years in Italy, and we remember the role Verdi played in it. The second war of independence would break out in a few months, with the small kingdom of Sardinia and Piedmont taking the leading role in the process of the country's unification, fighting against the main enemy, Austria, with the indispensable support of the French Empire. As Verdi studies progress, we become increasingly aware that the composer, who had spent practically the whole of 1854 and the largest part of 1855 in Paris for the composition, the staging and the first performances of >Les vêpres siciliennes<, played a not-insignificant role in the development of the diplomatic connections between Piedmont and France, which eventually led to the war. All this must have been well known to Verdi's Neapolitan friends, patriots with whom the composer was in contact during his stay; and Delfico was certainly one of them (as proved by his musico-political caricatures published in 1860, during the war of independence).<sup>21</sup> The atmosphere of secrecy and conspiracy which dominates the caricature must have been the same for the numerous meetings, encounters, and plots of the Italian patriots of the day.

Whatever the conclusions one may like to draw from these few examples, at least one seems to be beyond dispute: if we place these caricatures in their correct historical context, in their precise cultural environment, the information they yield is richer and more precise than their bare visual evidence, their actual meaning becomes more focused and more enlightening for us.

<sup>20</sup> For this identification see Luzio (footnote 12), nos. 23 and 24; for the correspondence between Verdi and this artist see Il carteggio Verdi – Morelli, in: Carteggi verdiani 1 (Rome 1935), pp. 276–298, and Primo Levi, Domenico Morelli nella vita e nell'arte (Rome and Turin 1906), passim.

<sup>21</sup> They were lithographed and published in [Melchiorre Delfico,] Album di caricature in 24 tavole. Immaginate e disegnate da M' D' al prezzo di gra. 20 ognuna. [Naples] Anno 1860.

## The Realm of the Senses: Images of the Court Music of Pre-Colonial Bali Adrian Vickers

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와 와 와

In 1881 Dr. Julius Jacobs visited the Balinese courts as part of the Dutch government-sponsored smallpox immunization program. He was feted one day by the king of Gianyar (South Bali).<sup>1</sup>

»Even voor we aan den avonddisch zouden gaan aanzitten, werden op het erf vóór onze woning tal van gamelan-instrumenten, eigendom van den vorst, aangebracht, die ten laatste, zooals weldra bleek, eene volledige gamelan, de ›Semar-pegoelingan‹, samenstelden. Dit is het meest volledige orkest dat op Bali bestaat en wordt alleen gebruikt, wanneer ›gandroeng's‹ en ›lègong's‹ of ›djoged gegoedè'n's‹ dansen uitvoeren. De namen der verschillende muziek-instrumenten zijn mij niet bekend, zij zijn trouwens vrij wel dezelfde als op Java. Of het nu aan de betere constructie der verschillende instrumenten of aan de meerdere geoefendheid der bespelers ligt, durf ik niet te beslissen, misschien ligt het wel aan beide, doch zooveel is zeker, dat de Balische gamelan veel schooner klinkt dan de Javaansche . . . Vooral die we dien avond in de gelegenheid waren te genieten was al zeer schoon en liefelijk. De crescendo's, in weerwil van de vervaarlijk groote gong's en de vele koperen bekkens, klinken niet onaangenaam, terwijl de bespelers bij het allegro moderato, . . . onder zachte begeleiding van de gong's een hoogst aangenaam carillonmuziek weten te voorschijn te brengen; zelfs de ›soeling‹ en de ›rebab› hebben, door hen bespeeld, iets klagend schoons. De Baliërs zijn over het algemeen hartstochtelijke liefhebbers van muziek. Avond op avond kan men in de dessa's de gamelan hooren bespelen.«²

Elsewhere in his travel book, Jacobs describes the numerous entertainments to be found in the courts of South Bali before the Dutch conquest at the turn of the century: "légong", a dance performed by three young girls; the related "jogèd", a flirtatious dance performed by court servants and prostitutes, or even by men in drag (when it was called "gandrung"); the spectacular "gambuh" dance-drama; and the "barong", which takes its name from the shaggy mythical beast whose form is the result of a fantastic combination of a number of animal features.

Such impressions as Jacobs provides can tell us what it was like to be an outsider coming briefly into the milieu of the courts of South Bali, but not much else. They cannot tell us how the participants saw this music, and what contexts they placed it in. Nor can we assume that the twentieth-century form and context of Balinese music is necessarily the same as that of the nineteenth century. In the case of pre-twentieth-century Balinese music, especially courtly music, there are a number of statements, both visual and written, which can provide an insight into Balinese concepts of music.

Jacobs was not the first European to comment on Balinese music, but it was not until this century that detailed studies were made, beginning with Jaap Kunst and C. (Katy) J. A. Kunst-

- 1 In the 19th century Bali consisted of a number of different kingdoms: the north Balinese kingdom Bulèlèng, which, with its western neighbour, Jembrana, was under Dutch control from 1849; the eastern kingdom of Karangasem, which also ruled Lombok; Bangli, in central Bali; Klungkung in the southeast; Gianyar and Badung in the south; Mengwi, which was divided up amongst its neighbours, Badung, Gianyar, and Tabanan, in 1891; and Tabanan, which shared a border with Jembrana.
- 2 "Just before we were going to sit down to the evening meal, numerous gamelan instruments, owned by the king, were brought into the forecourt of our dwelling, and these, as soon became apparent, made up a complete gamelan, the semar pagulingan. This is the most complete orchestra to be found on Bali, and is the only one used whenever sgandrung and slègong or sjogèd gegudegan perform. I do not know the names of the various instruments, they are fairly much the same as on Java. I won't venture to conclude whether it lies in the better construction of the various instruments or in the greater practice of the players, perhaps it lies in both, but this much is certain, that the Balinese gamelan sounds much more beautiful than the Javanese. . . . In particular, the one that we were able to enjoy that evening was very beautiful and lovely. The crescendos, in spite of the tremendous great gongs and the many copper cymbals, did not sound harsh, while the players at allegro moderato, . . . under the soft accompaniment of the gongs, knew how to produce highly agreeable carillon-music; even the ssuling and the rebab have, played by them, a plaintive beauty. The Balinese are in general passionate lovers of music. Evening after evening one can hear the gamelans played in the villages. Julius Jacobs, Eenigen Tijd onder de Baliërs: Eene Reisbeschrijving (Batavia 1883), p. 68.

van Wely, and later Colin McPhee.<sup>3</sup> They were researching at a time of rapid social change, which also affected music, shifting its dominant social context from the courts to the village sphere.<sup>4</sup>

The courts sprang originally from the great Javanese kingdom of Majapahit, which sent its nobles to rule in Bali in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The importance of this historical origin of the Balinese courts was reflected in the way that the courts continued to see themselves as part of Majapahit culture. The Javanese cultural model was adopted for many aspects of courtly life, including ritual, art, architecture, and dress.

The social positions of those involved in the production of art prior to the twentieth century reflect the complex way in which the courts related to the rest of society. The »brahmana« (members of the brahmin caste) came from priestly households called »geria«. They often went into the courts as teachers of literature, scribes, judges, and priests, and many of them (before being consecrated as high priests) were musicians and dancers. The aristocracy themselves modelled their behaviour on ideals like the literary hero Pañji, who was a lover, artist, poet, singer, dancer, warrior, and musician. Jaba« (commoners who were not of the brahmana or aristocratic castes) were involved in the artistic activities of the courts in three ways: as servants living in the courts (»parekan« or »pangjeroan«); as state officials involved in court duties or administration; or as »roban« and »pangayah«, villagers involved in different types of labour for the court, the former as sharecroppers and workers and soldiers living near the courts, the latter as having appanage or service relationships. The »pangayah«, in particular those who worked inside the court at the personal call of the kings, »pangayah dalem«, benefitted greatly from this system in terms of being given rice fields for their service, as well as sharing in the prestige of the king and his family.

Because people from all levels of society were involved in the courts, the courts were able to see themselves as constituting the whole of society. The brahmana and the aristocrats were able to maintain their cultural hegemony by demonstrating their innate ability in artistic achievements. This practice was reinforced by their strategic position in the networks of patronage and teaching, and their control over social, ritual, and political institutions on the state level. Only the courts had the wealth to support large numbers of people who could teach literature and the arts together. Usually those most accomplished in a particular field (whatever their social rank) were

4 See especially McPhee (footnote 3), pp. 12 and 328ff.; and Adrian Vickers, Gusti Made Deblog: Artistic Manifestations of Change in Balis, in: Review of Indonesian and Malayan Affairs 14 (1980), pp. 1–47, especially pp. 5ff. on the social nature of the change as it affected the arts.

5 To date the account of this change by Cornelis Christiaan Berg in his Middle-javaansche Historische Traditie (Ph. D. diss. University of Leiden, Santpoort 1927) has not been surpassed, although it is in need of revision in the light of recent research.

6 This is according to research amongst »brahmana« and aristocratic families, especially those of the »geria« Pidada, Klungkung, the »puri« Agung Klungkung, the »puri« Pemecutan, Denpasar, and the »geria« and »puri« of Batuan.
7 See McPhee (footnote 3), p. 14; and Stuart O. Robson, Wangbang Wideya: A Javanese Pañji Romance (The Hague

1972; = Bibliotheca Indonesica 6).

<sup>3</sup> Jaap Kunst and C.J.A. Kunst-van Wely, De Toonkunst van Bali, vol. 1 (Weltevreden 1924), vol. 2 (Aanvullende beschouwingen naar aanleiding van nieuwe vondsten en van Von Hornbostels Blaaskwinten-theories) in: Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap 65 (1925), pp. 369–508. – Colin McPhee wrote many articles on Balinese music from the 1930s onwards, but his most comprehensive work is his Music in Bali. A Study in Form and Instrumental Organization in Balinese Orchestral Musics (New Haven 1966).

<sup>8</sup> This is based on my research on the Kamasan painters. See also P. de Kat Angelino, De Robans en Parekans op Balis, in: Kolonial Tijdschrift 10 (1920), pp. 590–608. The most recent work on this issue is Alfons van der Kraan, Bali: Slavery and Slave Trades, in: Anthony Reid (ed.), Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in Southeast Asia (St. Lucia 1983), pp. 315–340, which, I believe, distorts the nature of the social prestige attached by Balinese to working for the courts.

selected and supported by the courts. In the cases of music and dance in particular these talented individuals were then taken into the courts to live as "parekan" (more in the sense of pages than servants), where they could study and teach and diversify their talents. No doubt most (especially those already involved in administration or "ngayah" service) returned to the villages afterwards, just as brahmana returned to the "geria". The king's role was as supreme arbiter of taste, since he had access to the best advisors and teachers, and determined who would be summoned to the court and who not. So it was towards the courts that any aspiring musician or dancer looked.

Many musicians who played for village ceremonies and performances would thus most likely have studied either in the courts or with friends and relatives who had themselves studied in the courts. They would have looked to the courts as centres of excellence for which it was a great privilege to be asked to play during royal ceremonies. Many of the best orchestras were kept in the courts and only brought out for these state rituals, when villagers and "parekan" played them. When the Dutch conquered Bali, the kings were forced by economic circumstances to give these orchestras to villages who had members either living in the courts or who had musicians trained in the playing and teaching of the particular ensembles .

Jaap Kunst and Colin McPhee still had access to firsthand accounts of the place of music in the courtly milieu. Our knowledge of this kind of musical activity comes from their interpretations, and from the remnants of courtly tradition handed down over two or three generations. However, as yet, the study of Balinese musical concepts has paid little attention to the nineteenth-century sources available: the texts and visual images of music produced in or for the courts. These provide detailed and vivid, if somewhat heterogeneous, insights into the role of music in the courtly life.

An important written example of the kind of knowledge which was brought to bear in the production of music and its visual depictions is the Aji Gurnita, a musical treatise perhaps written prior to Dutch rule. Since this text is useful in giving order to a discussion of the visual images, a few details about it are needed:

The available manuscripts of the text come from the Hooykaas Collection of Balinese manuscripts in transcription. They come from the »puri« Kaba-Kaba, formerly an important royal house in the kingdom of Mengwi; Puri Satria, Denpasar, where the original Denpasar royal family now resides, and the »geria« Ngurah, Pemaron (collection numbers 1976, 2320 and 2855 respectively). These origins, in addition to a reference to five modes in »gambuh« music, help to locate the texts in the Badung-Mengwi-Tabanan region of South Bali. In other regions only four modes are known.

The text is called The Teachings of Music because it is concerned with the mystical aspects of music in the court setting. Thus it begins with complicated explanations of the relationships between musical notes, mystical syllables and emotions relating to sexual desire and passion. It specifically refers to this as secret knowledge, to be used in conjunction with the making of offerings, something which suggests that the text was perhaps written in a priestly house, or by a brahmana working in the courts (fol. 1a–5b).

The treatise also distinguishes between the ancient and sacred orchestras such as the »selonding« and »gong luang«, which it associates with priests meditating in the forest, and the courtly types of orchestras (fol. 9b). The courtly orchestras described are the »semar pagulingan« (= Smara, the god of love, sleeping), »semar patangian« (= Smara rising – the orchestra which accompanies the »légong«), »semar palungguhan« (= Smara seated – the orchestra for »jogèd« performances), and »semar pandirian« (= Smara standing – the »barong« orchestra). The text describes the instruments which make up these ensembles, and relates each ensemble to one of the gods of the four quarters. It then similarly describes the »gamelan gong« and »bebonangan«, which are respectively related to the gods and priests of the sky and the demons of the earth (fol. 5b–13a). This relationship is explained in terms of the story of the creation of all the orchestras. Originally there was one ensemble, the »melad prana« (= cutting to the quick), the orchestra which accompanies »gambuh« performances. This ensemble was created by Smara,

the god of love, and his spouse Ratih, to be played by the divine beings in their heaven. On hearing the orchestra, each of the gods of the four quarters, followed by the gods and priests in the sky and then the demons in the underworld, created their own versions. A king of great power with words of magic had all seven copied, and from him all the other kings of middle earth obtained them (fol. 14a–18a). Musically then, these ensembles constitute the courtly group of "gamelan" (orchestra), and they are all based on the "gambuh" orchestra. Each of the ensembles has its own function within the framework of courtly entertainments and activities.

It would be imprudent to read the Aji Gurnita as any kind of definitive text on music in the courtly tradition. Likewise, its descriptions of the ensembles should be seen as idealized versions of what a complete form of each might be according to the musical practice of the particular area where the text was written. Nevertheless, the information that the "gambuh" orchestra is the basis of all the other ensembles is not contradicted by the evidence available from other sources.

The Aji Gurnita provides one image of music that can be read in conjunction with the pictures of music which also come from the courtly tradition. These pictures were produced as parts of larger works, either within manuscript illustrations or cloth paintings. In them, music is not of focal interest, but often a detail or atmospheric touch.

The manuscript illustrations, called »prasi«, are usually found on »lontar« (palm leaf), but I will also mention two on European paper. In one of them there is evidence from oral tradition that the illustrator may have been a jaba painter from the village of Kamasan, Klungkung, 10 which makes this prasi on paper doubly unusual, because the evidence available on other prasi shows that they were usually the work of brahmana, who have a close association with all forms of literary knowledge. As some of the examples given below will show, to be able to illustrate a prasi requires knowledge of the difficult language of poetry fine enough to permit punning and other types of play on the relationship between word and image. However, this does not totally preclude jaba artists from the illustration of prasi, because some of them (including artists still living in the village of Kamasan) studied literature with the brahmana, or acquired a knowledge of literary language in the training to become puppeteers for the shadow play.

Jaba painters were usually more involved in the production of paintings on cloth (sometimes on bark-cloth and even on wood) which were hung in the courts or used in royal temples and rituals. This was part of their "pangayah" service. Some worked for village or family temples in addition to this, but in the pre-colonial state their economic support came from the courts, usually in the form of special land grants. At that time the king of Klungkung was the ruler of highest status, and the artists of Kamasan, his "pangayah", dominated traditional painting. Often they were "loaned" to other kings, disseminating their work throughout South Bali. Nevertheless, there was never anything like a monopoly on painting, so that while some other kings and lords had artists, the brahmana and aristocrats were also versed in the painters' art. The latter two

10 I have discussed this prasi at length in A Balinese Illustrated Manuscript of the Śiwarātrikalpas, in: Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut 138 (1982), pp. 443–469.

<sup>9</sup> McPhee (footnote 3), especially pp. 40 and 113, confirms the link, which is clearest in the case of the music of the "semar pagulingan", which plays mainly the same "gending" (tunes) as the "gambuh", orchestra, and also for the "légong" music. The gamelan gong and "bebonangan" took their main musical modes from the "gambuh", and McPhee gives eight examples (appendix four) of gamelan gong melodies that have the same name as "gambuh" or "semar pagulingan gending" (namely "kumambang", "kunyur", "subandar", "semuradas", "blandongan", "lasem", "ginanti" and "tembung"). This confirms the information given by older musicians in Batuan (especially Dewa Nyoman Dadug) that old gamelan gongs in the area used to play "gambuh" melodies in the "saih lima" (the five-tone scale). Many "légong" dance movements and gestures come from "gambuh", as do the gestures of the "sisia" characters in the "barong-Calon Arang" performance (information I Nyoman Rembang).

groups, however, seem to have been more interested in demonstrations of their aesthetic skills than in producing works for temples and rituals.<sup>11</sup>

The main difference between the social interaction around music and that involving painting is that painting, at least Kamasan painting, was practised for the courts, but studied in the village milieu. Since painting is by its nature practised by one or a few people only, it can never have involved the large-scale interaction that the production of music and theatre did, as when brahmana, aristocrats, and jaba were able to form a »seka« (or »sekaha« = club) to play together in one gamelan or for dance performances. The idea – or perhaps ideal – of a »seka« is that all participants are considered as equals, despite their social rank. In terms of painting, however, any interaction would not have been on a physical level but rather on a level of intellectual interaction or artistic appreciation. Artists from the brahmin caste would certainly have seen, if not owned, paintings by jaba artists, while jaba must have had some access to the knowledge that the brahmana held. Since all groups regarded ability in many arts as an important goal, the participation together in dancing and music must have also influenced the interaction that occurred in painting.

Because social groups from different milieux (»geria«, court and village) interacted so often, they shared a common aesthetic and ways of talking about and visualizing things. One of the clearest manifestations of the common aesthetic is the way that character types are created from physiognomy and costume in painting, dance-drama, and the »wayang« shadow puppet theatre. Physiognomy is always represented within one common system, but costume types can be different according to different, co-existent iconographic modes. Physiognomy is shown as a differentiation between »alus« (refined) and »keras« (rough) or »kasar« (coarse) types. »Alus« characters have small, delicate features and almond-shaped eyes, while the »keras« ones have gross bodies, much body hair (including thick moustaches) and large eyes and nose. There is some overlap between the »keras« and the »kasar«, the category used in representing commoners, clowns, and servants, who are usually fat and caricatured. Although »alus« and »keras« do not denote rank by themselves (and do not, as is commonly assumed, denote »good« and »evil«), »kasar«-ness is used as an indicator of social status.

Systems of representing costume are used to indicate rank, especially with regard to head-dress and coiffure, but commoners are also distinguished by their simplicity in both. One system of costume exists for the depiction of characters from the stories of the 'Ramayana' and 'Mahabharata', and this is known as 'mythological' iconography. There is a completely different convention for showing characters from narratives that are closer in time: stories of courtly romance, history, witchcraft, or domestic farce. This is the "post-mythological" iconography. Sometimes the two systems overlap, for instance in the depiction of priests as always wearing long coats, but usually they are distinct. In dance-drama and the shadow theatre there is also a musical equivalent to these forms of iconography, where different characters are associated with different tunes and even modes. Usually a tune will convey something of the nature of the character.

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<sup>11</sup> Vickers (footnote 4), pp. 7f.

<sup>12</sup> McPhee (footnote 3), p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> The systems are described and illustrated in detail in Anthony Forge, Balinese Traditional Paintings [Exhibition catalogue]. Australian Museum, Sydney (1978), p. 13. Although the terms are Forge's, the Aji Gurnita confirms the temporal sequence when it describes the stories of the »gambuh« theatre as being those stories that come »after « those of the »Ramayana and the »Mahabharata (fol. 16b).

The first example of a depiction of music is from a lontar prasi of the »kekawin« (poem in Indian metres and Old Javanese language) >Smaradahana, the story of the burning of the love god Smara by the god Siwa. 14 The »mythological« mode of iconography is employed. The prasi itself comes from the collection of Anak Agung (Gusti) Putu Jlantik (1880-1945), ruler of the northern Balinese kingdom of Buleleng under the Dutch. The Ilantik collection of manuscripts was a large one during his lifetime, and attracted the interest of many Dutch scholars. Now only a part remains with his family, while some of the »lontar« have gone into the public collection of the Gedong Kirtya in Singaraja, and others have been sold. The origins of the collection are hard to trace. Probably many belonged to Ilantik's immediate ancestors, or were collected by him while he was on Lombok, where he and his father before him were administrators under the Dutch. Stylistically, the Smaradahana prasi is similar to another prasi, which was illustrated by a brahmana from Buleleng, an argument for its having been collected by A.A. Putu Ilantik himself. 15 As a key figure in the Dutch administration at the beginning of this century, Jlantik also played a role in the Dutch takeover of the southern states, especially the kingdoms of Badung and Klungkung, which were defeated in 1906 and 1908 respectively. Members of one of these defeated royal families accuse him of participating in the sacking of the palaces which followed the suicidal fight to death of the kings, so it may be that some of the other manuscripts in the collection came from these courts. Van Stein Callenfels, researching some fifteen years after the event, was told that the Klungkung palace in particular had many illustrated manuscripts before its destruction.16

There are three images of music in the 'Smaradahana' prasi and each of them can be related to "gambuh" and the "gambuh"-related courtly orchestras: 1. a demon playing a long, end-blown flute; 2. two men playing music while a prince makes love to a girl; and 3. women playing various instruments.

In one single scene (1) separated from the adjoining depiction of two men playing other instruments (2), a gruff, even slightly demonic man is shown playing a long end-blown flute (fol. 12a). Although the Aji Gurnita refers to flutes being used in most of the courtly orchestras, the long (approximately one metre) flutes are distinctive to "gambuh". There is, however, no information accompanying the illustration to tell us why a "gambuh" flute player should have been depicted. The accompanying text says only that: "— wètali — ka — nuli — ng aganti — gawènya — lagi — «.17 While flute playing is specifically referred to ("kanuling"), there is

<sup>14</sup> The »kekawin« was edited and translated by R.M. Ng. Poerbatjaraka, Smaradahana: Oud-Javaansche tekst met vertaling (Bandoeng 1931; = Bibliotheca Javanica 3).

<sup>15</sup> The Arjunawiwahae prasi comes from Sawan, in Bulèlèng, and was illustrated by a brahmana whose son was interviewed by Pieter van Stein Callenfels in the early 1920s, by which we may presume that the artist, then deceased, lived and worked during the mid- to late-19th century. Van Stein Callenfels reproduces part of the prasi in his book De Mintaraga Bas-Reliefs van de Oud-Javaansche Bouwwerkene (Batavia 1925; = Publicaties van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indie 1), pls. 54–58. Margaret Fletcher, who has examined the Smaradahanae prasi, informs me that it has a colophon saying that the work was commissioned by a queen (perhaps of Bulèlèng). She also looked over the two prasi with me, and confirms my opinion that they are by the same artist, noting, for instance, handwriting similarities (especially flourishes for some of the shanginge letters). As she pointed out, however, there are pictorial differences, e.g. in the depiction of foliage, and in the presence of European dress and artifacts in the Arjunawiwahae prasi, which may indicate that it is of a later date than the Smaradahanae prasi.

<sup>16</sup> See footnote 15, p. 50.

<sup>17 »</sup>The public criers played their flutes, then changed their tasks about.« This is a slightly different translation than that given by Poerbatjaraka (footnote 14, pp. 10 and 66), based on the information in Piet J. Zoetmulder, Old Javanese-English Dictionary (The Hague 1982). For his definition of »wètālika« see p. 2256. I have based all spellings here on my own direct transcriptions of the prasi, so there may be some divergence with those given by Zoetmulder, or, in the

no other reference to »gambuh«, since the »wètalika« of the text seems to have been a bard and time keeper (fig. 1).<sup>18</sup>

The nature of the illustration is best explained with reference to two other depictions of »gambuh« music. A prasi on paper illustrating the kekawin »Śiwarātrikalpa« from the collection of the »geria« Pidada, Klungkung, and dating to the mid-nineteenth century has a similar picture of a solo »gambuh«-flute player (fol. 123a). In this case, the identification of the »gambuh« link is confirmed by the presence of a dancer in »gambuh« costume, and wearing the headdress which, in post-mythological iconography, denotes a king. This king has round eves and a moustache. indicating that his nature is »keras« or forceful (fig. 2). On the same page are other images of a farmer tied to a tree, and Yama, the god of hell. The text reads: »Ikang sakala wadhakandya paknanya keke-kekesananta nisphala, — nghulun masalahèng gawè wihikanè — ng ala hayu patudhuh Ganā — dhipa«. 19 Since obviously a whole orchestra is not shown, why include the flute at all? The illustrator has punned on the word »wadhaka« from the text at the top of the page, using it to refer not only to the farmer tied to the tree (in its meaning of »prisoner«), who is also referred to by the word "ala" (= evil. base), but to the name of a story which seems to have been used in »gambuh«, »Mantri Wadak«, 20 The placement of the word »dhipa« next to the dancer is the rationale for showing a king from »gambuh«, since in the compound form »Ganadhipa« it refers to kingship. However, without the depiction of the flute player, this would not have been adequate to convey the full sense of the pun.

The use of depictions of single instruments to represent the whole gamelan is important. When Kunst surveyed the available visual and linguistic information on Hindu-Javanese Musical Instruments, <sup>21</sup> he treated each depiction or literary reference as a philological item separate from others, so that instruments were treated in isolation and not as part of a gamelan. The Balinese evidence is that instruments are not identified as individual items (solo instrumentation is a modern innovation) but as constituents of the gamelan and its social context. By surveying as many pictures of music as possible, I will show that in Bali these contexts of gamelan are highly specific. In all of the examples I have been able to find, ensembles are represented by either one or only a few instruments. Possibly because of space, but also because they would be superfluous, traditional depictions of music never show complete gamelan.

case of the quotations from the 'Aji Gurnita', from standard Balinese spellings. However, I have attempted to follow the standard spellings found in this dictionary and in the 'Kamus Bali-Indonesia' (Panitia Penyusun Kamus Bali-Indonesia) (Denpasar/Bali 1978; = Propinsi Daerah Tingkat 1). The only other divergence is in the matter of orthography: I have chosen, for consistency's sake, only to mark the "staling" (è) and not the "pepet" (è), in line with the Balinese spelling, but in opposition to Zoetmulder's method. I would also like to thank Margaret Fletcher for advice on all the translations, and Raechelle Rubinstein for additional comments.

18 See footnote 17. Zoetmulder (ibid.) notes that in many occurrences, »wètālika« is associated with »nagèrika«, which is connected with Persian and Hindi words for a small drum or kettle drum used by town criers (see also p. 1169). It seems that there is a connection between these terms and music readily apparent to the prasi illuminator but lost to us.

20 Since commenting on this pun in my article on the 'Siwarātri' prasi (footnote 10), I have discovered folk-tale and painted versions of this story that confirm that the story was used in "gambuh" performances.

21 Jaap Kunst, Hindu-Javanese Musical Instruments, rev. English ed. (The Hague 1968).

<sup>19</sup> See Vickers (footnote 10), p. 454. This line, from canto 30, stanza 9, is translated by Andries Teeuw et al., Śiwarātri-kalpa of Mpu Tanakung (The Hague 1969; = Bibliotheca Indonesica 3), p. 131 as: »All these captives, what is the point of our continuing to keep them here for nothing? I shall resign my work of observing the distinction between good and evil in accordance with the direction of Ganādhipa.« The dashes in the text, as in the others given here, represent dots joining the broken bits of text scattered over the prasi page.

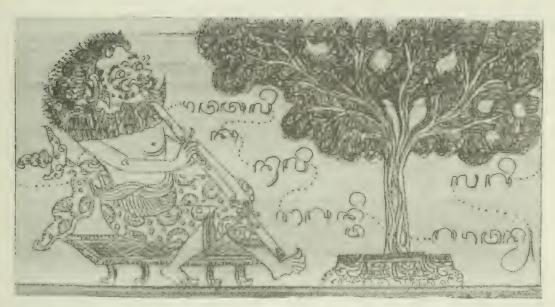


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

In saying this, we should also recognize that what constituted a gamelan was probably highly flexible in the past, which would have been even more reason for identifying an orchestra by its key instruments. Thus, for instance, a nineteenth-century photograph of a »gambuh« orchestra, the frontispiece of Jacobs's journal, shows a »gamelan soelingan« consisting of two long flutes, a »kajar« (small gong with a sunken boss, held in the lap or placed on the ground), a pair of drums, and a »kempul« (larger hanging gong) at the back. Modern »gambuh« musicians would consider this to be incomplete, but perhaps it was sufficient for the accompaniment of a performance.

Amongst the nineteenth-century depictions of »gambuh« music, however, there is one that is more problematic. It is found in a prasi on paper illustrating a part of the kekawin Ramayanas. 22 This manuscript also came from the collection of A. A. Putu Jlantik, and is on paper which was made in England, with a watermark of 1811, indicating that the illustrations almost certainly come from the second decade of the nineteenth century. 23 The illustration (fol. 25a) accompanies the words: »manik spha /tika candra kanta / ya śilātala nyārata, /matis ya malengis ya tonggwan ikanang watek déwata. Asanggani ya / manggupit hana sdeng / sadarpā / siwo, ma«. 24 The passage is part of a longer section comparing a mountain to the heaven of the god Indra, one of the guardians of the quarters. The illustrations here show the god Smara, one of his followers playing the »kangsi« (forked cymbals), another man dancing, and two women »playing around« (fig. 3). Smara is seated on a rock (the »flat, level stone« of the text). Over his head is a huge jewelled ring above a half moon. The half moon and jewel on the ring are, respectively, the »jewelled crystal« and the »moon« (»candra« from »candra-kanta«) of the text. The artist has, however, manipulated their depiction in an interesting way. In Balinese mystical calligraphy a half moon or semi-circle and a jewel-spot above it are the signs written over a letter or syllable to show that it has mystical or divine significance. They can also be shown above beings of divine or mystical power for the same purpose, so their depiction above Smara is entirely appropriate. However, Smara is not specifically referred to in the text, so his depiction may have something to do with the other images on the page. In front of Smara is one of his heavenly pages (either Turida or Lulut) playing a small »kangsi« by beating it against his palm.<sup>25</sup> In front of him is a man of »keras« character, his legs raised and his fists clenched as if either dancing or running. The »manggupit« of the text accompanies the »kangsi« player. Although the word »gupit« does not refer to the »kangsi« in particular, it can refer to drumming, and so here it is used in association with the percussive role of the »kangsi« in some gamelan. 26 The »keras« man has the headdress known as "jejempong", with a round, ornamental skull-cap and a small tuft of hair sticking up in the middle. This is worn by the »kadéan« or accompaniers of the heroes Pañji and Prabhu Malayu in the »gambuh«, these »kadéan« also being »keras« in nature. The »keras«-ness is particularly in reference to the word »sadarpa« in the text of the illustration, since »darpa« can

23 On the watermark see John Guy, Palm-leaf and Paper [Exhibition catalogue]. National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne (1982), p. 72.

25 Cf. McPhee (footnote 3), fig. 34, where the »kangsi« is struck against the ground.

<sup>22</sup> The kekawin has been recently edited by Soewito Santoso, Ramayana Kakawin (New Delhi 1980). Soewito has not succeeded, however, in surpassing the translation of the text begun by Hendrik Kern and continued by Hendrik Herman Juynboll in issues of the Bijdragen van het Koningklijk Instituut between 1922 and 1936.

<sup>24 »</sup>Its flat stones were level and made of jewelled crystals and moon-gems; cool and gleaming was the place of the gods. Percussion instruments were played while the people energetically enjoyed themselves and played around.« Ramayana Kakawin, canto 16, verses 11–12. Part of this passage from Soewito's translation is quoted in Guy (footnote 23), but my translation differs from it substantially. This is also the case with the section of the prasi translated below.

<sup>26</sup> According to Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk, Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlands Woordenboek (Batavia 1897–1912), vol. 4, p. 776.



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

mean »rather fierce«.<sup>27</sup> The »kadéan« figure links up with the »kangsi« player, since the »kangsi« was, until early in this century, used in the gamelan »gambuh«, although the ›Aji Gurnita‹ also refers to its use in the »semar pagulingan« and the »jogèd«, neither of which, however, relates to the »kadéan«. Since the »kangsi« is not an instrument which could be played by itself, the »gambuh« link is the only other way of explaining its inclusion in this image. The third image on this page is of two women of intermediate rank in post-mythological iconography, one of them standing and holding her hand on the other's forehead, while the other kneels with her hand up her companion's skirt. The sexual play (»siwo«) contributes to the cohesion of the illustration as a whole: Smara is associated with the »gambuh« in the ›Aji Gurnita‹, and he is also god of love.

The Aji Gurnita is even more explicit in its reference to the link between »gambuh« music and sensual pleasure in a courtly context (fol. 16b–17a).

»Lyan sakèng pinalu kadi ring ajeng, inganggé tatkala Sang Prabhu asusuguh ring wadwan ira muwah ring para Wiku ring Tandha Mantri, Adi Mantri mwang Tandha Rakryan, sawatek sawub ing waringin. Makadi ri kala amangun-anginum Sang Natha, sedeng angalila-lila, dinuluran sarwa kekidungan. Uga inganggé gegambelan ilèn-ilèn Sang Prabhu, ikang ingaranan Gambuh, caritan ira, sawus ing Tatwa Uttara mwang Parwa-Sangkata, ika pinaka lelakon.

Kunang ikang wang angigel, pinilih rupaniya kang anom apekik, anom ayu, pada wus tamèng tatan ing pepajaran, tan len juga anak ing sawub ing waringin kang pinuji-puji. Ika wang angigel, tan sah ngawé lilan ing pandulu, amangun sukan ing indriya, magawé suka citha Sang Prabhu umulat, iniring dé Sang Tandha Rakryan mwang sahub ing waringin, tan adoh Sang Wiku-raja, Śèwa, Sogata katkan dé Sang Prabhu tan sah maring arsa, agelar sopacara bebaru kapranathan ira. Sangkan èmbuh rasmin ing tontonan mwah agawé raras ing panangkilan Sang Natha, mangkana kalinganiya nguni.«<sup>28</sup> (fig. 4.)



Fig. 5

The other courtly gamelan and their accompanying dances are also depicted with reference to this range of associations. The second illustration of music from the Smaradahana prasi mentioned above, for instance, shows direct links between musical and sexual pleasure. Here, in the illustration adjacent to the one just mentioned above (fig. 1), two men are shown playing a metallophone and large cymbals, while a couple makes love (fig. 5). The metallophone has nine keys which seem to be resting on bamboo resonators, and it is played with two mallets. It is

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., vol. 2, p. 418.

<sup>28 »</sup>Other than how it [the gamelan »melad prana/gambuh«] is played as mentioned above, it is used when the king is regaling with his wives, or with the priests and state officials, all of those who are shaded by the ›waringin‹ [the banyan tree of state which stood just outside the palace entrance, shading the palace]. It is used when the king is eating and drinking or taking his pleasure, and is accompanied there by all types of singing. It is the orchestra for the deportment of the king in dance, which is called ›gambuh‹. The narratives it uses are those stories which follow after the ›Ramayana‹ and the ›Mahabharata‹.

The dancers should be chosen for their young and handsome or beautiful appearance, they should have studied long and preferably be highly regarded amongst the members of the court. These dancers create pleasure for the viewers, arousing joy in the senses and pleasing the king, who views in the company of the court. Even the Siwa and Buddha royal priests join in watching, and they are seated with the regalia and the weapons of state. The performance makes the viewers feel love, so that the royal audience is suffused with sensual pleasure. Thus it is said in the past.«

depicted using the »bird's eye view« type of perspective, which combines elevated and frontal viewpoints and thus eliminates the single point of view favoured in Western perspective. Although the two musicians have similar coiffures (the wild, unstyled hair typical of the heavenly beings known as »apsara« and »déwata«), they are different types. The cymbal player is refined in physiognomy, while the metallophone player has round, bulging eyes, a long nose, and a thick moustache, showing him to be "keras". The couple for whom they play are in a bedchamber with a thatched roof and supporting poles, typical of the »balé« (pavilions) which are the basis of Balinese architecture. The chamber has two curtain walls, with rolled-up curtains around the eaves on either side and other drapes and cushions. The lovers are wrapped in a large cloth. The woman, underneath, belongs to the type of the celestial princess, as denoted by the dot on her forehead, which also appears on the forehead of the first of the musicians. The man has a backward-curling coiffure as worn by a prince of the Panji type, the courtly lover, and as also worn by the heavenly pages of Smara.<sup>29</sup> Because the man is not shown with a forehead spot (to signify divinity), however, it is more likely that he is meant to be a type of human lover figure. Between the musicians and the bedchamber are a drinking spout, a cup, and a platter (»dulang«) with some food, all resting on a box with two eight-petalled flowers on the front. The food consists of a mound of rice with small side-dishes around it, and the accompanying text reads: »— cèng — ning curing — pilipilih — saji — ning — jahat kèn «.30 The »curing « is a type of »gangsa« (metallophone), which, according to the Aji Gurnita« was only used in the »semar pagulingan« and »jogèd« orchestras.<sup>31</sup> The relationship between words and text is explained by a series of double meanings. Although »cèng« means »a ringing sound«, the word is illustrated above cymbals of the type known as »cèng-cèng«. The food and drink of the illustration are the »saji«, offerings, of the comparison being made. »Jahat ken« can mean either »the ceremony of first menstruation« (also called »rajasawala«), or »mixing«, in the two senses of the »mixing of the blood on the skirt at first menstruation« or »mixing of bodies« in sex.<sup>32</sup> In the nineteenth century first menstruation was often the signal for the consummation of (usually arranged) marriages, so it is no wonder that sex and first menstruation should be associated by the artist.

This same association between sex and music is found in a mid-nineteenth-century painting collected by the Danish trader Mads Lange (fig. 6), which shows scenes from the Malate story. Being a painting on cloth, it does not obey the same rules by which prasi illustrations are so closely tied to the texts of the poems they illustrate. Instead, although the narratives are often the same as those used for prasi illustrations, paintings show these narratives in broader terms and without reference to philological detail. The paintings do not require knowledge of the texts, for the artist may have studied the stories by watching wayang or listening to oral versions. Interestingly, though, like this painting, nearly all traditional paintings that have scenes of music refer to one narrative, the Malate. This courtly romance, especially in its dramatic forms of \*gambuhe\* and wayang \*gambuhe\*, was much more popular in the nineteenth century than today,

<sup>29</sup> This coiffure, called \*tetanggalan\*, is a variety of the type of hairdo generally worn by princes and ministers of state in the \*post-mythological\* iconography, although in the \*mythological\* mode it is worn by Turida and Lulut, the two pages of Smara. In the \*mythological\* iconography the equivalent of the \*tetanggalan\* as the denoter of aristocrats of princely or second rank is the \*supit urang\*, the upward-curling hairdo worn by Smara.

<sup>30 »</sup>The ring of the ocuring was like the [sound] offered at the first menstruation [ceremony]«, see Poerbatjaraka (footnote 14).

<sup>31</sup> Fol. 7b-9b, as reproduced in the table accompanying this article. For photographs of the »curing«, see Kunst and Kunst-van Wely (footnote 3), figs. 9 (»coring«) and 29 (»cungklik«). McPhee (footnote 3), fig. 89 shows a small »curing«.

<sup>32</sup> Van der Tuuk (footnote 26), vol. 4, p. 348.



Fig. 6

and so nearly all Malat paintings come from the nineteenth century, or are copies or versions of nineteenth-century painting, usually done by artists who originally studied before the fall of the last courts.<sup>33</sup>

Pañji is the crown prince of Kahuripan, a kingdom in Java, and the Malata is about his search for his lost betrothed, the princess of Daha. At the same time as Pañji begins his quest, the princess's older brother also sets out to search for her, and goes overseas to the country of Malayu, where he is adopted by the king and becomes the new ruler or »prabhu«. Both he and Pañji are extremely refined versions of the courtly ideal, and are frequently described as being like twin forms of Smara.

In this painting Prabhu Malayu (the young king of Malayu) is dallying with the princess of the kingdom of Gegelang at a secret rendezvous. Besides scenes of the king and his beloved in the bedchamber, the king's male followers (aristocrats of lower rank) are shown playing musical instruments. The illustration is ambiguous in its depiction of the instruments, but appears to show one playing a pair of »kangsi« and the other a type of metallophone using two hammers to play two separate rows of keys.<sup>34</sup> Despite the strangeness of the fact that two sets of keys are

<sup>33</sup> See Forge (footnote 13), pp. 13, 84f., and catalogue no. 42.

<sup>34</sup> This image may in fact be a confusion of two images, since the »kangsi« could also be the double-headed mallet used for playing instruments in the »gambang« ensemble, which also features »gangsa« metallophones arranged in double rows and played by one person. However, if that were the case, that leaves two players and only one (double) set of keys between them. Still, the »gambang« explanation is plausible in the light of the »Malate text (Singaraja, Gedong Kirtya, 405, fol. 65–67) which mentions the singing of »kidung« (actually by Prabhu Malayu) prior to the seduction, and the »gambang« and related ensembles were used to accompany »kidung« singing. However, nobody is shown singing. Tilman Seebass (personal communication), who has studied the »gambang« at length, agrees that this scene could represent such an ensemble, and suggests a confusion on the artist's part between two distinct representations, each of which may have been encompassed by a different traditional model for representing this scene.

shown with only one person playing them, the keys appear to be "gendèr" metallophones, in which the keys are suspended over bamboo resonating tubes, and the 'Aji Gurnita' mentions that both "gendèr" and "kangsi" are found in the "semar pagulingan" (see table on p. 176). One might even suggest, since "pagulingan" means "sleeping" in Old- and Middle-Javanese, that the artists in these two illustrations are merely drawing attention to an association between the gamelan and sex that was well known in courtly circles.



Fig. 7

The third depiction of music from the Smaradahana prasi shows another aspect of the range of associations between courtly love, Smara, and music. The scene of women playing various instruments (fol. 6b and 7a) is divided into two parts for the very practical reason that the illustrator could not fit the whole picture on the end of one leaf, and so had to go onto the first section of the next one. In the first part of the image (fol. 6b; fig. 7) there are two women in the elaborate costumes and with the long hair of princesses. They play respectively a gong kettle which stands on a small, ornamented sounding box and is struck on the boss with a mallet (perhaps the »kempiung« of the »semar pagulingan« or the smaller »kenang/kelenang« of the »gambuh«) and a vertically hung gong struck with a padded mallet (a »kempul«).35 There is a third woman sitting smoking with the first two, and her lack of ornamental clothing, together with her hairdo and ugly features, indicate that she is a »condong« or »pangieroan«, a female servant. As with the other prasi scenes mentioned above, the accompanying text is scattered throughout different parts of the scene. It reads, »Kirnnang tabang-tabang arū — m masari — k pinupang — «.36 The »lovely musical instruments« of the text are shown with their splendidly ornamented frames, but the last words of the text also have a double meaning which refers to the illustration. »Masarik«, as well as meaning »magical power«, also means »to strike« (in the senses both of physically hitting and of the sudden onset of love or of a curse), while »pinungpang« (the scribe seems to have omitted the first »ng« sign) can mean both »transgression« (in the sense of doing something one is unqualified to do) and »relating to a female slave«. 37 Thus the first word is written above the woman striking the »kempul«, and the second above the »pangjeroan«, who is a type of »slave«.

<sup>35</sup> McPhee (footnote 3), figs. 29 and 44, shows respectively a »kelenang« (an alternative term for what the ›Aji Gurnita« has called »kenang«) and a »kemong gantung« (hanging »kemong«) which look very like the instruments represented here. According to the ›Aji Gurnita«, however, the »kemong gantung« was only found in the »légong« and »jogèd« orchestras (see table on p. 176).

<sup>36 »</sup>There were many lovely musical instruments, which were magically dangerous if played by one who was unqualified.« See Poerbatjaraka (footnote 14), pp. 9 and 65.

<sup>37</sup> Van der Tuuk (footnote 26), vol. 3, p. 66, and vol. 4, p. 310.



Fig. 8

The next illustration (fol. 7a; fig. 8) completes the passage of the first, illustrating the words, 

— winna — samasta — winiwaksa — hana — n ginitan —«. 38 The illustration is of a princess-like figure playing a »rebab« (spike fiddle), a female servant playing a »suling« (flute) and two women sitting near them, apparently singing the text which the second holds on a »lontar« in front of her. Although these two women have the typical clothing and long coiffure with a »garuda mungkur« (a bird »facing to the back«) of princess-types, they are slightly different from them in that their hair is not shown framing their faces (that is, shown on both sides), and their diadems are larger. Generally, they seem to be the intermediate types between princesses and servants who feature in paintings using the »post-mythological« iconography, and who usually play the role of ladies-in-waiting to the princesses. The »rebab« illustrates the »winna«, »stringed instrument« of the text. However, the poem makes no mention of a flute, but the ›Aji Gurnita‹ shows that, as is still the practice in the court ensembles, »suling« and »rebab« are inseparable (fol. 13b–14a).

»Ithi sangkan ing tetabuhan, wit ing hana tetabuhan, sami sangkaniya wetu sakèng Bayu, tinemwaken maring suling, ikang suling kinarya dèn ing pring. Mwah pangarad ing rambut maring logam, kinaryakna sopacara, kayu, tangkulak, kulit pasu, ika rinipta dadi ngaran rebab, manut swaraniya suling mwang rebab, ika yan sinarengan amuni.

Ikang swaran ing rebab, mangawé karna manohara, rumenga swara galak amanis. Mwah swaran ing suling, tan sah gumawé karna saraga, rumenga swara lembut arum mamanis, marmané mangawé prapancan ing manah angrungu, kadi lengeng ing rumenga nada Sang Hyang Smara Ratih, tatkala abawa-rasa swaran ing suling sinarengan dèn ing rebab, pada muni, kalinganiya unin rebab, kadi reng pangucap ira Sang Hyang Smara, unin ing suling, kadi reng pangucap ira Sang Hyang Ratih.«<sup>39</sup>

38 »The stringed instruments which were in readiness were played, and singing accompanied them.« See Poerbatjaraka (footnote 14). Poerbatjaraka's edition has »samapta« instead of »samasta«, but Zoetmulder (footnote 17), pp. 1625 f., indicates that their meanings are similar.

39 »This is the reason that there is music, the beginning of music: all music comes from the breath, and this is realised in the flute, which is made of bamboo. The combination of hair with metal, together with the other accompaniers of wood, bow [quiver?], hide and bridge, make up the rebabs. According to their sounds, the sulings and rebabs accompany each other.

The sound of the rebabs arouses the ear, for it is a sound which is ferocious and sweet, while the sound of the sulings gives lust to the ear, for it is heard as a soft, fragrant, and sweet sound, and creates passion in the mind of the listener. This feeling is like the longing created by hearing Smara and Ratih meeting together [making love?]. The sound of the sulings being played with the rebabs is like the meeting together of Smara and Ratih because the sound of the rebabs has the timbre of the god Smara's voice, while the sound of the sulings has the timbre of the voice of the goddess Ratih.«

To depict the »rebab« on its own, particularly since other instruments have also been shown in an effort to suggest a complete courtly orchestra, would have been an incomplete picture to the artist. The Aji Gurnita seems to reflect an idea generally current in Balinese society, that the »suling« and »rebab« have an intimate association not unlike the intimacy of the god and goddess of love. The expectation that one of the courtly ensembles should have been depicted is even more clearly created by the context of the illustrations in the kekawin. This passage, and the others mentioned above in which musical instruments are depicted, is a description of the heaven of Smara and Ratih, and the players of the musical instruments are the heavenly beings who make up the court of the god and goddess of love (even though the artist has neglected to put forehead spots on all of them, and their iconography is that used to depict the inhabitants of earthly courts). As mentioned in the description of the contents of Aji Gurnitas, in that text the »gambuh« orchestra was created by Smara and Ratih to be played by the heavenly beings in their court. The combination of flute, »rebab«, »kempul«, and »kenang«/»kelenang« or »kempiung« certainly suggests that this orchestra depicted is the »gambuh« ensemble or perhaps the »semar pagulingan«, although the long flute played by the »condong« and the vocal accompaniment are more suggestive of the former. It would seem that the illustrator, having in mind the kind of knowledge and the associations exemplified by the treatise, has taken an original text having nothing to do necessarily with a description of the courtly orchestras known in nineteenthcentury Bali, and produced an image that he feels is appropriate to the context of Smara and Ratih's heaven.



Fig. 9

The same can be said of another prasi illustration, this time from the prasi on paper of the >Ramayana (fig. 9). In a passage just prior to the last one quoted from this text, that is, still within the context of the comparison between a mountain and Indra's heaven, the following excerpt is illustrated (fol. 24a): »anung hana lanā umu-/-nggu ri ya déwa gandarwwa lèn, sacāraṇa / hanāpsarī wwara ta kinnarī kinnara, mabangsi / mangidung / makinnara salāwuwinnā-/-ngigel / ahohayu nikang gunung«.40

The illustration to the left shows Smara, this time his godhead signified only by his aureole. In front of him are two males: one a small, bald child meant to be an attendant, and the other is one of Smara's two celestial accompaniers, Turida or Lulut. These three watch as heavenly women play music, sing, and dance. Three of the women are princess types, and the other two (shown with larger mouths depicted in profile as is usual for commoners in Kamasan painting) are of a lower rank. One of the less refined women sings, and is shown under the word »mangidung« which refers to the singing of song-poems in the »kidung« types of metre. The other plays a small flute. Of the three princess types, one plays a small metallophone of the »gangsa« type (keys resting on a resonator), another plays the "rebab", and the third dances. The flute and the "rebab" are shown next to each other, with the words »makinnara salāwuwinnā« placed immediately above them. These words, however, refer only to the playing of stringed instruments, so, like the previous illustration, the artist has felt impelled to complete the depiction of the stringed »rebab« with one of a »suling«. However, the »mabangsi« of the text, written at the top of the page and not directly above the depiction of the flute player, does refer to the playing of what was originally a transverse flute. 41 Since the artist of this prasi, as well as the illuminator of the Smaradahana prasi, were in the habit of putting the word illustrated by a specific image immediately near that image (even to the point of scattering the words over the page and without reference to their original textual order), are we then to assume that this is either an inconsistency, or that the artist did not understand the meaning of the word »bangsi«? In addition, there is no textual reference to playing the metallophone.

In fact, in other variant readings of the 'Ramayana', there is no reference to dancing either. This suggests that the artist has adapted the words of the text to a familiar image, in which dancing is combined with "suling", "rebab", singing, and metallophone playing. The image he has produced is that of the "légong" dance, where young princesses, or at least young girls dressed in the costumes of princesses, perform to the music of what the 'Aji Gurnita' calls the "semar patangian", which uses small flutes rather than the long "gambuh" flutes, and which also uses metallophones. We should also remember Jacobs's comment, quoted at the beginning of this article, that in the nineteenth century the "semar pagulingan" accompanied the "légong" (although Jacobs, like most foreigners travelling through Bali, was inclined to get some of the details wrong). If the "semar pagulingan" were intended here, the logic of the illustration would be clear, since the 'Aji Gurnita' refers to the playing of the "semar pagulingan" in Indra's heaven,

<sup>40 »</sup>There were always gods and all sorts of heavenly beings there, playing flutes, singing, playing zithers and dancing. Oh, how beautiful was the mountain!« Tilman Seebass (personal communication) informs me that the »bangsi« are most likely transverse flutes, and the »lāwuwinā« stick zithers, but I have avoided this specificity to show how the transformation from the original meaning to the Balinese meaning could have taken place more easily. The passage is from ›Ramayana‹, canto 16, verse 10 (footnote 24).

<sup>41</sup> See Zoetmulder (footnote 17), p. 208.

<sup>42</sup> Soewito's edition (footnote 22), p. 392, has »wanèh« (= other) in place of »angigel«. He also gives the variant »anggel«.

and the passage illustrated is concerned with Indra's heaven. However, this is not conclusive, especially since the god shown is not Indra, but the deity with whom the whole complex of courtly music and dancing seems to be associated: Smara.

What is most striking about these last two illustrations is that women are depicted playing musical instruments. Even today it is rare for women in Bali to be musicians (although many are singers), and older people say that in the past only men were dancers and musicians, with the exception of the court »jogèd« and »légong« dancers. There are two possible explanations for these depictions of women as musicians: either this is literal adherence to the kekawin, or in the pre-colonial period women in the court did study music. The latter possibility receives much support from the descriptions of court women playing musical instruments in texts like the >Malat< (which probably dates back to the sixteenth century or earlier) and also from the ancient Javanese reliefs showing female musicians. It could be argued that the idea that women do not play musical instruments is one peculiar to the early twentieth century, a conservatism which came into being with the decline of the courts and which is only now being overcome.

It would, however, seem that the pre-colonial female musicians were all women of the court, either royal family members or their servants. This can be seen in another prasi, this time illustrating the kidung >Tantri<. 44 Here (fol. 6), this time in the context of an earthly court, women are shown playing in what may be one large »semar pagulingan« orchestra, with two drums, a »trompong« (a set of gong kettles arranged in a row on a frame) a »kempur«, and another suspended gong, slightly smaller than the »kempur« (a »kemong gantung« perhaps). Two men play long »gambuh« flutes, another man plays the »rebab«, and a fourth sings. This depiction is somewhat ambiguous, since the middle of the page separates the two hanging gongs, but there is no dividing border between them. Could the second hanging gong also be intended to be a »kempur«, meaning that the depiction is of a gamelan »semar pagulingan« on the left side of the leaf (fig. 10) and a separate gamelan »gambuh« on the right (fig. 11)? The accompanying text sheds no light on the matter. It refers to »the sound of musical instruments« (»munyang tabetabehan«) over the drums, the accompaniment of music (»sinamèning gending«) over the »trompong«, and »curing« over the »kempul«, which is rather difficult to explain. Since the »semar pagulingan« included the »curing«, why not depict it here? Over the flute players is written »linawu«, which the artist perhaps interpreted as a reference to flute playing rather than as part of the compound form »lawuwina«, the »wina« of which is written above the »rebab«.45 The text also refers to »kinidungan«, meaning that the singer is singing »kidung«.

The other illustration of music from the same prasi shows the "jogèd" orchestra (fol. 30; fig. 12). Here the musicians are all male, and they play (from left to right) a "kempul", two "gendèr" metallophones, a gong kettle (perhaps a "kemong jongkok" = squatting kemong), and a single drum. On the right side of the leaf (fig. 13) a servant woman dances with a fan under two

<sup>43</sup> See Jaap Kunst (footnote 21), figs. 6, 60, and 63. Fig. 16 also shows female musicians from the Borobudur reliefs, which although Indic in nature, could possibly represent scenes familiar to the inhabitants of the Hindu courts of ancient Java.

<sup>44</sup> This is Singaraja, Gedong Kirtya, Ms. 1256, which was copied by Ktut Badung in the 1930s. One of my Gianyar informants remembers seeing a 'Tantri' prasi in the Gianyar "puri" (information I Ktut Rinda) in the past, so perhaps this is the original of the Kirtya Ms. Without seeing the original, it is difficult to comment on how exact a copy it was, although since Ktut Badung probably worked under the supervision of Dutch philologists, there may have been a lot of attention paid to attempting to reproduce exactly the original (something that would not normally have happened). Nevertheless, there was still some change, as I show below.

<sup>45</sup> A >Tantri< Ms. with Balinese gloss in my own collection also has »linawu« glossed with »flute« (fol. 4b), perhaps indicative of a common interpretation spread through singing practices.

umbrellas while men watch, an unmistakeable reference to the fact that »jogèd« dancers were often in the nineteenth century court prostitutes. 46 Again there is no specific reference in the accompanying text to »jogèd«. 47



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13

The problems and ambiguities that have been cited and that occur not just in this prasi but in a number of others already mentioned, show that there are several factors influencing these illustrations. First, the images found in these manuscripts are often depictions of single words rather than of whole passages, although the wider context of the passages can influence the nature of the depiction. For words relating to musical instruments, however, this can present a problem.

<sup>46</sup> The woman's status is denoted by her »condong« style hairdo. On »pangjeroan« as prostitutes, see I Made Bandem and Fredrik deBoer, Kaja and Kelod: Balinese Dance in Transition (Kuala Lumpur 1981), pp. 97 ff.

<sup>47</sup> The only text above the gamelan is »dinulur« = accompanied by.

These instruments were often originally of Indian derivation, but they disappeared or were transformed, so that the representations in the prasi must be understood as Balinese visual glosses, translations or perhaps actualizations of what was originally intended in the text. Where the specific knowledge of one word's meaning has been lost, or does not fit with what the artist perceives to be the context of the passage as a whole, then the actualization takes the form of what is, in philological terms, »misinterpretation«. However, this actualization is also affected by the iconographic tradition to which the depictions of music belong. Since much of the evidence for this tradition has been lost over the passage of time, we do not know what models an artist may have had before him when he began to work. However, the images themselves suggest connections. For instance, is it possible that the illustrator of the Smaradahana prasi had seen the Ramayana prasi, or that there was a particular intermediate visual image that both had in common? This may have been the case, although the state of our knowledge of Balinese art makes it difficult to speculate about the possibilities of »genealogies« of images. We know, for instance, that traditional Kamasan painters were constrained by highly exact iconographic systems, and that often some works were either direct copies of others, or they used parts of other paintings, particularly single scenes to construct new works. The examples already mentioned of ambiguity in some depictions could be the result of conflicts of visual models, where, for example, an artist was copying another work, and wished to turn a part of that other work he did not quite understand into a more familiar image, or adapt parts of other images and other works into a new picture. However, we could not extend a few cases of direct copying that are known into the whole corpus of traditional Balinese art, and assume that all paintings are copies lacking in any thought. Rather, every case of copying can be matched with completely original images, which should be seen as the product of an experience not only of the constraints of the visual arts (the rules of iconography and the ordering of scenes according to types)<sup>48</sup>, but an experience of the social life and aesthetic values of Balinese culture. Further, the rather tenuous ideal of »a« or »the« Balinese culture can be more exactly described as the social circumstances of different status groups or classes at different times.

Hence the evidence of texts like the 'Aji Gurnita' make it unnecessary to speculate about the visual history of images, because they can link those images to broader aesthetic values and social circumstances, in this case the social circumstances of the courts and their relationships with the brahmana and jaba; and the aesthetic values which are demonstrated by the link between the courtly orchestras, erotic pleasure, and the divinity of Smara. An example of how this perceived relationship was generally current in nineteenth-century court circles is the case of the depiction of the "rebab". Because of the idea that "suling" and "rebab" represent a pair comparable to Smara and Ratih, the "rebab" is never shown on its own. However, this idea is also mediated by the direct experience, both visually and musically, of the orchestras, so that in the case of depicting the "gambuh" flute, it is shown on its own because of its dominant role in the "gambuh" ensemble.

The mediating role of direct experience of the orchestras themselves meant that changes in the orchestras resulted in changes to their visual images in paintings and prasi. The »jogèd« orchestra illustrates this point. Besides the ›Tantri‹ prasi illustration just mentioned, there are also depictions of »jogèd« gamelan in nineteenth-century ›Malat‹ paintings. The narrative episode

<sup>48</sup> This ordering of scenes into types, which is not a feature of the prasi so much as the paintings, is found in the wayang and dance-drama forms of theatre.

called >The landing at Tuban (>tuun di Tuban in Balinese) was the subject of both paintings and ygambuh performances in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Two paintings of this story show the flirtatious yjogèd performed in a court setting. Both paintings show a woman (or perhaps a man dressed as a woman – there is no way of telling and both were found in different yjogèd types) doing an elegant fan dance while coarse men attempt to dance with her. In the first painting, two men dance with the yjogèd dancer to the accompaniment of a ykempul (hanging gong) and a ten-keyed ycuring metallophone. In the second (fig. 14) the gamelan is more complete, with ycuring (here with eleven keys) and ykempul accompanied by yrebab and ykendang (drum).



Fig. 14

The »curing« is clearly intended as the representative instrument in the »jogèd« ensemble in these two works. However, in contemporary Bali the »curing« seems to have virtually disappeared, and certainly is unknown in areas of South Bali.<sup>52</sup> The Tantric prasi mentioned above is a copy (probably dating from the 1930s) of an earlier work, and it seems that when the copyist came to illustrate this scene, he used the »gendèr« which would have been familiar from gamelan »jogèd« he had seen, not the »curing«. Another painting (this time from the 1940s) illustrates the case even more comprehensively. This is a scene from the Brayut paintings on the Balé Kambang, a large pavilion built in the middle of an artificial pool. This pavilion is one of the last surviving parts of the great palace ("puri agung") of Klungkung, most of which was razed by the Dutch in 1908. The paintings were executed by Wayan Kayun, of Kamasan, in 1941 or 1942, just after the pavilion itself was greatly expanded in size. I will say more about the nature of the »Brayut« story below. In the 1930s, according to McPhee, 53 the »jogèd« orchestra was completely different from that described in the Aii Gurnita«. In it, an instrument known as the »kempur komodong« (a bamboo slab suspended over an earthen jar) and a two-keyed xylophone provided the main punctuation. The only common feature between the description in Aji Gurnita and the 1930s form of the orchestra was the use of only one drum. In the Balé Kambang depiction of the »jogèd« ensemble, on one of the first panels on the second level of the south side of the ceiling of

<sup>49</sup> All the different types of »jogèd« still known on Bali are discussed in Bandem and deBoer (footnote 46), pp. 97-107.

<sup>50</sup> From the collection of Donald Friend. Unfortunately, this painting was too old and faded for reproduction.

<sup>51</sup> The depiction of a »rebab« on its own is an anomaly which I cannot explain.

<sup>52</sup> I Nyoman Sadia, a silversmith of some erudition from Sukawati, said he had made many enquiries, but had not been able to find out what a »curing« looked like!

<sup>53 (</sup>footnote 3), pp. 191 ff. See also Kunst and Kunst-van Wely (footnote 3), vol. 2, fig. 10.

the pavilion, the gamelan consists of six metallophones (probably the »gendèr« type McPhee refers to as »rindik«), a single drum, and two instruments consisting of a single long key supported over a circular pot by four upright sticks (fig. 15). Since there is no depiction of »kempul« in the painting, the larger of the two single-keyed instruments is perhaps a »kempur (= kempul) kemodong« and the smaller is a »kemong« version of the larger, having a secondary punctuation role. In comparison with the Malat« paintings of the same gamelan, the Brayut« painting illustrates the extent of the change in the orchestra.



Fig. 15

The other orchestras described as part of the group of courtly orchestras by the Aji Gurnitac are the gamelan »bebonangan« and the gamelan »gong« (also known as the »gong gedé« or »gong ageng« in contemporary Bali). Both of these also appear in Malate paintings, as well as other contexts. The Aji Gurnitae describes the gamelan »bebonangan« as the gamelan of the demons (fol. 11a):

»Sedeng mangkana, pinalu gegambelan bebonangan ika, gumenter rasan ing bhuwana, nadyan angawé res ing manah, kadya gempur rasan ing pretiwi den ing swaran ing bebonangan ika, maka gegambelan ing mamahayu sanjata, salwir ing babaru sang prabhu mwang asraman sanjata ring lebuh agung«.<sup>55</sup>

Two Malate paintings show precisely this context of the display of arms in a battle. The Malate narrative incident depicted in both is the war between the forces of the kingdom of Gegelang (led by Pañji, Prabu Malayu, and Pañji's brother, Prabangsa) and those of the alliance of Lasem, Mataram, Pajang, and Cemara. In the first of the paintings (fig. 16), the battle scene is divided into two layers. At the top, the kings, princes, and lower-ranking aristocrats do battle; while at the bottom are the jaba troops, led by "kadéan" and carrying spears, rifles, and blow-pipes. On each side of this commoner layer are gamelan "bebonangan". On the right side is a man playing a

<sup>54</sup> In the sources cited in footnote 53, a two-note instrument called the "kempli", similar to the "kempul komodong" is mentioned as a feature of the "jogèd" orchestra. Tilman Seebass et al., The Music of Lombok: a first survey (Bern 1976; = Forum Ethnomusicologicum ser. I vol. 2, Basler Studien zur Ethnomusikologie), pp. 17 and 23, refer to "kemodong" in orchestras on Lombok playing the role of "jegogan" and "calung"/"jublag". Seebass (personal communication) speaks of it as a cheap substitute for the bronze instruments.

<sup>55 »</sup>Thus, when the gamelan bebonangan is played, the world feels like it is shaking to the sound of thunder, and this creates fear in the mind, as if the earth feels like it is being destroyed by the sound of the bebonangan. It is the gamelan for the glorification of weapons, especially the king's state weapons, and for the warlike dance exercises of weapons in the great field [in front of the palace]. «



Fig. 16

flute (which is shorter than the »gambuh« flutes), another behind him playing cymbals (»cèng-cèng«), behind him another playing a single gong beaker (a »rèong«, perhaps of the larger »bonang« type), two men playing drums (»kendang«), and a group of five men carrying four gongs between them, the fifth holding the mallet used for striking. The two larger gongs in this set are the »male« and »female« pair, whilst the smaller two are the »kempul« and the »bebendé« (which is different from the »kempul« in that it has a sunken boss, although this is not clear from the painting). On the other side the male and female gongs and »kempul« are shown, although the »bebendé« is not, and flute, cymbals, and »kemong« are also shown as well as a set of two smaller gong beakers carried on a frame by one man, which is a pair of »réong« or »bonang«. In twentieth-century practice the use of the flutes in the gamelan »bebonangan« is unknown, whereas the »Aji Gurnita« mentions such a practice. 56

The second of these two paintings of the great war is more problematic. Whereas there is no available data to date the first painting firmly (although the inclusion of the flutes strongly suggests a nineteenth-century date), the second painting (now in the Leiden Museum) can be dated because it was collected by the Dutch colonial scholar Wouter Rodbert Baron van Hoëvell in 1846.<sup>57</sup> The painting, unlike the others mentioned here, which are on cotton cloth (or wood

<sup>56</sup> See footnote 63.

<sup>57</sup> Hendrik Herman Juynboll, Catalogus van s'Rijks Ethnographisch Museum: deel VII, Bali en Lombok (Leiden 1912), p. 89. Van Hoëvell also associated with Mads Lange.



Fig. 17

panels, in the case of the Brayut (scenes) is beautifully painted on bark-cloth. It shows five scenes from a part of the Malate commonly performed in both "gambuhe and "légonge: the omen of the king of Lasem's death.<sup>58</sup> The bottom level of the painting shows (reading from left to right): 1. the king of Lasem taking leave of his queen and secondary wives; 2. the king then going to the chamber of the princess of the Daha, Panji's betrothed, who is holding a »kris« (dagger) and threatening suicide if the king comes too near; and 3, the king, rejected, being attacked by a crow as he sets out for battle while the wives make gestures of sorrow at this omen of death. The top part of the painting shows: 4. the four kings going out to do battle, with their followers accompanying them and an orchestra at the front; and 5, the initial skirmish of the war (the last scene in the top right-hand corner) (fig. 17). The orchestra in front of the scene of the kings setting out (4) consists of (from left to right): a man playing »cèng-cèng«, another playing the »trompong« (a row of small gongs on a frame, here consisting of seven beakers in ascending size), two men behind him playing conical drums (the male and female »kendang«), and behind them a square framework of poles from which hangs the male and female large gongs, the »bebendé«, and the »kempul«. To the right of the right-hand drummer (the one with a goiter) is a man who acts as if he is playing an instrument, although his hands are empty. We may presume he is doing some sort of clown dance parodying the musicians. Squeezed between the two aforementioned figures is another man playing the »kemong« (gong held on the lap). The inclusion of the »trompong« is what makes this painting so problematic. In both modern practice and according to the nineteenth-century data, the gamelan »bebonangan« does not usually include the long »trompong«, only the »réong« or »bonang«, which can be carried simply or in pairs in

<sup>58</sup> A summary of the story as used in the theatre is given in Beryl de Zoete and Walter Spies, Dance and Drama in Bali (London 1938), p. 286.



Fig. 18

procession, and are occasionally placed in larger groups on frames, whereas the »trompong« cannot be carried in a procession. Also, all of the musicians are seated, further suggesting the gamelan gong. This anomaly in the representation is enigmatic. It could be explained as a way of calling attention to the theatrical and nonrealistic nature of the act of painting. However, it could also be explained in terms of the Aji Gurnitac's definition of the gamelan gong as the orchestra that is to be played when meeting with kings, <sup>59</sup> since the painting is primarily concerned with the king of Lasem and his allies, especially the king of Mataram, who features prominently in scenes 4 and 5.60

Later in the Malate story, after the victory of the Gegelang alliance, there are lengthy celebrations in the Gegelang court, leading up to the king of Malayu's abduction of the princess of Gegelang, and also to Pañji's reunion with his lost love. Two very interesting paintings show some of these courtly activities. The first, unfortunately undated, depicts various types of dancing in the palace of Gegelang. The huge three-tiered gate in the centre of the painting marks off the courtyard in which the dancing takes place as the more public fore-court of the palace. The king of Gegelang is shown seated on a high platform with his wives, daughters, and followers with him or on nearby platforms, watching the various entertainments. On the left side (fig. 18) Pañji, the king of Malayu, Prabangsa, and their followers perform a martial dance –

<sup>59</sup> Folio 11b: »maka gegambelan ring tkan ing tamwi mwang ri datang sang ingarep-arep, pamendak ira Sang Prabhu.« = »It is the gamelan for the arrival of guests and for the coming of those coming into the presence, meeting together with the king.«

<sup>60</sup> An alternative explanation for this scene is that there has been a confusion of models by an artist copying one or more other works. The high quality of the work, and the fact that nothing similar to it is known, makes me doubt this.

probably the »baris« dance - with »kris«, shields, and spears. This is accompanied by musicians on the large gongs, »kempul«, »bebendé«, »kemong«, cymbals, »kendang«, and two pairs of horizontally mounted gong beakers, probably the »réong« since each pair has its own player. The martial nature of the dance suggests the kind of exercise of weapons referred to in the quotation of the Aji Gurnita above, which describes the context of the »bebonangan«. On the other side of the gate (not reproduced here), two performances are in progress simultaneously. Nearest the gate, a »dalang« (puppeteer) performs a wayang »gedog« (daytime performance of the wayang, usually accompanying rituals, and lacking a screen). No one watches the wayang, which is not unusual in the case of wayang »gedog«, for all eyes are on a man doing a solo dance with orchestral accompaniment. The audience is still the king of Gegelang and his court, but this time Panji, Prabangsa, and the king of Malayu are also seated on platforms as part of the audience. The wayang is accompanied by a »gendèr«, while the solo dance has a larger orchestra. This is similar to the gamelan on the other side, with »kemong«, »kendang« pair, cymbals (smaller than those on the other side), the large gong pair, and a single pair of horizontally mounted gongs which are larger in size than the »réong« in the other gamelan, which can perhaps be identified with the »ponggang«. It is difficult to tell what the dance is, although a solo dance of this type suggests the masked »topèng« dance-drama, which is accompanied by the gamelan gong. The physical layout of the two orchestras on either side of the great gate is reminiscent of the description in Aji Gurnita of the function of the gamelan gong and »bebonangan« in the court (fol. 10a-b), where they are to be:

»katur genah manggé ring wèsma sang prabhu. Yan ana swakarya sang ratu, sthananiya ring bancingah agung, ikang bebonangan, maring yasa kiwan ing gopuran ing puri sthananiya; gong maring yasa tengen ing gopuran ing puri sthananiya, maka pangapit ing gopura karwa gegambelan ika.«<sup>61</sup>

While all the paintings discussed above seem to date from the nineteenth century, the following one by Nyoman Dogol is more recent, and was made in the 1920s. Again it illustrates celebrations at court, but is also exemplifies the problems associated with traditional Balinese painting: the incorporation in more recent works – even those perhaps copied from older paintings or done by artists who grew up in the circumstances of pre-Dutch South Bali – of contemporary perceptions. The upper scenes of the painting (fig. 19) show Prabangsa and his wife talking to a messenger, followed by a court performance of wayang, with Kebo Tan Mundur, one of Pañji's »kadéan«, as puppeteer, and the kings of Gegelang, Kahuripan, and Daha, together with their wives and followers, as the audience. The lower scene shows a dance called the »canting«, the name of which refers to the water containers carried by the dancers, who in this case are Pañji and the king of Malayu. A third figure, the king of Daha, descends from the platform where the other kings are sitting to join in the dance. Large groups of courtiers and members of the royal families are depicted on either side of the dancers, with a group of princesses in a pavilion to the left. Below the princesses and their servants are the musicians accompanying the dance. They play the large gong pair, the »bebendé« on the right, and

<sup>61 »</sup>Given a place in the sleeping area of the king, and if there is a great ceremony, their place is in the fore-court of the palace. The bebonangand's place is in the pavilion to the left of the great gate of the palace, and the gong's is in the pavilion on the right of the gate, so that they serve as the flankers of the gate.«

<sup>62</sup> The type of dance was identified by Nyoman Mandra, an artist and a nephew of Nyoman Dogol. The identification with this king as the king of Daha is based on his skin colouring, which is the same as that of his son, Prabu Malayu. Pañji's father, the king of Kahuripan, likewise has the same skin colouring as his son, and the king of Gegelang has the same colouring as his adopted son, Prabangsa.



Fig. 19

»kempul«, the »cèng-cèng« or another type of cymbals, the male and female drums, and two pairs of »réong« which are depicted from the side and not from above as in the previous painting, and a »kempli« to the right of the »réong«. According to the ›Aji Gurnita‹ (fol. 12a-b) the gamelan gong prior to the twentieth century did not include the »réong«, yet from the 1920s and 1930s it seems to have become an integral part of the orchestra.<sup>63</sup> Once again the artist's

63 Besides the evidence in the Aji Gurnitae that there was no »réong« in the gamelan gong of the nineteenth century, there is also the evidence of Kunst and Kunst-van Wely (footnote 3), vol. 2, p. 441, that the gamelan gong featured what they call »bebarangan« and what the »Aji Gurnita« call »trompong barangan« (see table on p. 176), an accompanying »trompong«. Perhaps this instrument was replaced by different types of »réong«. Alternatively, the »ponggang« and »kempiung« were played on a frame similar to that used for the »trompong« and »réong«, and it may be these which the »réong« replaced (vol. 1, fig. 12). However, it has to be remembered that the descriptions in Aji Gurnita: are not necessarily definitive. For instance, the reference to »trompong« in the »jogèd« orchestra (see table on p. 176) is not borne out by either the 19th-century paintings or the contemporary form of the »jogèd«. Likewise the »celepita« (wooden clappers) and »genta orag« (bell racks) are found in some gamelan »gambuh«, despite their omission from the description in Aji Gurnitas. Kunst and Kunst-van Wely, vol. 2, fig. 7, also show a bamboo instrument called a »grantang«, which was from the »semar pagulingan sunaren« (five-tone semar pagulingan?) of the king of Gianyar, but is not mentioned in the Aji Gurnita. Also Wayan Dibia, Dramatari Gambuh; Proyek Pusat Pengembangan Kebudayaan Bali (= Central Project for the Development of Balinese Culture; Denpasar n. d.), p. 35, lists another gamelan »gambuh« instrument called the »tawa-tawa«, which is known on Lombok as a type of gong, smaller than the normal gong, see Seebass et al. (footnote 54), pp. 26 f. This may be the »kala-kala« referred to by the Aji Gurnita«. However, Kunst (footnote 43), pp. 41-43, gives several possible meanings for »kala-kala«: a drum, a type of »bebendé« (which would agree with »tawa-tawa«) or a type of cymbal. McPhee (footnote 3), p. 371, favours »cymbals«.

experience of the orchestra (rather than any tradition of images as exemplified in the other paintings which depict this orchestra) is the major factor in the production of the representation.

Besides these Malat paintings, there are also depictions of the bebonangan in the Siwarātri-kalpa prasi previously mentioned, and in the Brayut scenes of the Balé Kambang. The illustrations in the prasi all show the bebonangan as the gamelan that accompanies battles. In the battle between the forces of Yama and the forces of Siwa, both sides are shown with their own gamelan. Yama's demons are shown carrying a gong and a drum (fol. 102a) to illustrate the words song saha gubar, while the opposing side is shown with a gong (fol. 107a), referred to as mṛdangga in the text, and a sréong or perhaps skemong (there is no textual referent), and later a drum (fol. 108b) illustrating the word sgubar again.

On the western side of the 'Brayut' paintings of the Balé Kambang the gamelan 'bebonangan' is shown accompanying a wedding procession. The 'kemong' (on the right) leads the procession, followed by two 'kendang', two large gongs and two 'cèng-cèng' (each gong is preceded by 'cèng-cèng') with four single 'réong' behind the gongs and 'cèng-cèng'. In the original scenes by Wayan Kayun, a gamelan gong was also shown on the north side, accompanying wedding festivities. In 1982 this scene was repainted by Nyoman Mandra (also of Kamasan), but there was only a minor change to the scene. It now shows (on the right), the 'kempul', 'bebendé', large gongs, 'kemong', 'kendang' pair, and three 'cèng-cèng' players. The main difference from Kayun's original scene is that it included four 'cèng-cèng' players, the foremost of which carried an absurdly huge pair of cymbals which could perhaps have represented Western cymbals. In these two scenes there is nothing to distinguish between the two gamelan besides their context. They show that changes in the orchestras occurred firstly when war disappeared, so that the 'bebonangan' only continued in ceremonial processions, and secondly when the courts changed and the orchestras lost some of their original specificity.

The Aji Gurnita demonstrates how a number of orchestras are grouped together as "courtly". The depictions of those orchestras consistently reveal the view articulated in the Aji Gurnita that this courtly association is also an association with the values of sensuous pleasure and the royal display of power, either power in war or power over women. The Malat paintings are explicitly concerned with this ideology of royal prowess and the courtly atmosphere, but the prasi illustrations concerned with these gamelan are equally explicit about the way the courtly sphere was invested with a sensuality that ranged from the sexual passion governed by Smara to the majesty of court ceremony and the awe of battle.<sup>64</sup>

\* \* \*

There are, however, hints that the courtly concepts of sensuality had limitations. These are given by the Brayut paintings. Unlike the Malat paintings, those of the Brayut story are concerned with the social circumstances and life-style of a peasant family that grows from poverty to wealth and higher social status. <sup>65</sup> In fact the Brayut could be said to be the obverse of

<sup>64</sup> I was only able to find two other illustrations of music not directly related either to the courtly group of gamelan or to the courtly context. The first is from the Arjunawiwaha prasi (footnote 15) and shows a wayang performance accompanied by "gendèr" (van Stein Callenfels, pl. 55). The second is from a prasi illustrating the Dampati Lelangon story, and shows a "saron" metallophone and a wicker-work which is struck as a musical instrument called a "bedèg", see Cornelis Marinus Pleyte, Dampati Lalangon (Koninklijk Bataaviasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Bandoeng 1948, repr. of 1911 ed.), fig. 3b. Both of these scenes are literal illustrations of the respective texts.

<sup>65</sup> For the story, see C.J. Grader, Brajoet: de geschiedenis van een Balisch gezins, in: Djawa 19 (1939), pp. 260-275.

courtly self-expression. This is demonstrated in the case of the courtly orchestras by the depiction of »barong« performances in ›Brayut‹ paintings. In the section of the story that is often the basis of paintings, the father of the Brayut family, Pan Brayut, takes his children to see the monstrous and comical »barong« dance. The Barong is an animal which resembles the lion of the Chinese lion dances, and appears most often in narrative performances as the opponent of the witch Rangda. In one ›Brayut‹ painting, using the »ider-ider« format (where the painting is in a long roll hung around the eaves of a pavilion), the Barong is shown with two lesser witches (fig. 20). This is a painting by the artist Kumpi Mesira of Kamasan, and dates from the end of the nineteenth century. 66 Its depiction of the gamelan accompanying the »barong« is fairly representative of ›Brayut‹ paintings, and shows the »kempul«, cymbals, two gong kettles played horizontally (»kemong« and »kempiung« or »kempli«), and a single »kendang«, which is played with a stick (as with the drums of the gamelan gong and »bebonangan«; fig. 21).

This is consistent with the description in Aji Gurnita of the \*semar pandirian orchestra (fol. 9a-b), particularly in the emphasis on the single drum and the two horizontal gongs. However, the Aji Gurnita mentions two types of \*barong the \*barong singa, which is associated with the \*semar pagulingan, and the \*barong keket, which is accompanied by the \*semar pandirian (fol. 5b-6b). The \*barong singa refers to a Barong animal with a lion face, although not much is known about the context of this particular species. The \*barong keket is the Barong form that is pitted against Rangda in performances, and that is considered a protector of villages. In more recent times the \*barong keket has become the dominant type in Bali, although legends say that this form is only of relatively recent origin. Two nineteenth-century European references to the \*barong help to shed some light on the matter. Jacobs describes a \*barong performance (without Rangda) held in the court of the king of Klungkung. This performance, according to his interpretation, was characterized by comic interaction between male and female groups representing some sort of sexual play. On the other hand the naturalist Heinrich Zollinger (a friend of the aforementioned Baron van Hoëvell) refers to a \*tiger mask being carried by two men in a village temple ceremony.

Although some Brayut paintings do not show witches, none of their illustrations of music could be construed as depictions of the Brayut pagulingan. As yet no detailed research has been carried out in the history of the Brayam barong, but from the limited evidence available – especially the evidence provided by paintings – it seems that the Brayam was associated more with the villages than the courts.

Given this basic association, the evidence of the Aji Gurnita and of the occasional courtly performance would seem to indicate that the courts used a strategy in cultural politics to represent the »barong« as their own product. Through this strategy, the courts appeared to embrace all musical forms, and denied the existence of a separate, village sphere of music and dance. The Brayut paintings, however, belie this kind of courtly hegemony. The painters of

<sup>66</sup> Other details of this »ider-ider« are reproduced in Forge (footnote 13), catalogue no. 40. Other ›Brayut‹ paintings showing musical instruments representing the »barong« gamelan are in Leiden, Museum of Ethnology, no. 154/1 (»kempul«, »kendang«, »kemong«, and »cèng-cèng«), no. 4491–107 (»kendang« and »kempul«), no. B90–9 (same); Kopenhagen, National Museum of Denmark, c4020 (same).

<sup>67</sup> Bandem and deBoer (footnote 46), p. 121. See also Anthony Forge, Tooth and fang in Balis, in: Canberra Anthropology 3 (1980), pp. 1-16, especially p. 9.

<sup>68</sup> Jacobs (footnote 2), p. 109.

<sup>69</sup> Heinrich Zollinger, Een uitstapje naar het eiland Balies, in: Tijdschrift voor Neerlandsch Indië 7 (1845), pp. 1–52, especially p. 16.



Fig. 20



Fig. 21

Kamasan who produced the majority of the 'Malata' and 'Brayuta' paintings were jaba who lived outside the courts and were seen as outsiders (the term 'jaba' literally means 'outside'). The 'Brayuta' paintings stand as their statement of difference from the courts, of the existence of a world outside the palaces. Here is the same type of dichotomy that can also be seen, for instance, in the 'Malata' battle scene discussed above (fig. 17), in which the jaba troops are depicted separate from the aristocrats and almost fighting a separate war.

Ultimately it was the jaba sphere that achieved dominance in art as a result of twentieth-century social change, as the Dutch transformed Bali. Wayan Kayun's >Brayut< paintings on the Balé Kambang illustrate not only the changes in the composition of the gamelan, as referred to

above (fig. 15), but demonstrate the change in the context of the formerly courtly orchestras. As the »jogèd« dance changed form, it also changed context, and so Kayun shows the »jogèd« in a totally village context, with all the participants being villagers. Further, the villagers are depicted in a social situation, in fact this is the meeting between Pan Brayut's son and his future wife (their wedding is the subject of many of the rest of the paintings). The courtly association between »jogèd« and prostitution is no longer an element of either the dance or the way it is depicted.<sup>70</sup>



Fig. 22

The Balé Kambang paintings also demonstrate their continuity with the earlier (nineteenth-century) Brayut paintings by showing a "barong" performance (eastern side) in a village setting. The gamelan is similar to that of the other Brayut paintings already mentioned, except that only one horizontal gong is shown, with two accompanying metallophones (probably "gangsa" and "gendèr"; fig. 22). The emphasis on the metallophones and the loss of the second horizontal gong perhaps indicates some change in the orchestra in line with McPhee's identification of the "légong" and "barong" gamelan, although the Balé Kambang Brayut has one drum, not two. As already mentioned, the depictions of the gamelan "bebonangan" and gong (if the orchestra on the north side is indeed a gamelan gong) also show the changed context of these formerly courtly orchestras, which have become the accompanying gamelan for a jaba wedding procession and celebration.

The jaba view of the Kamasan painters also comes out in the nature of the depiction of musicians. Most of the musicians shown in the paintings from the nineteenth century are "kasar", i. e., caricatured jaba, usually dressed only in head-cloth and sarong; on the other hand, the prasi mainly show music being played by members of the aristocracy. In the images of the divine world from the prasi, the gods and goddesses are the heavenly equivalents of the kings and queens, princes and princesses on earth, while the other divine beings (the "apsara", "gandarwa", and so on) are the heavenly equivalents of the lesser aristocrats. In this respect it is interesting that it is not the main aristocratic heroes (earthly or divine), but only their followers and accompaniers of intermediate rank who are depicted as musicians. This may be because in the

70 Bandem and deBoer (footnote 46), pp. 101-107.

<sup>71</sup> There is also a modern (1960) painting of a »jogèd« showing two drums on the ceiling of the Kerta Ghosa, a pavilion nearby the Balè Kambang. This is depicted as part of the ›Palindon‹ or earth-quake calendar which occupies the fifth level (from the bottom) of the Kerta Ghosa paintings. I cannot explain why the orchestra should have been depicted this way, unless it follows some recent local practice. Photographs of the 1933 Kerta Ghosa paintings show the correct number of one drum.

courtly romances the followers are treated as extensions of the hero, so that their actions and talents are seen as facets of his outstanding abilities.<sup>72</sup>

The exceptions to this polarity of jaba versus aristocrats as musicians are few. The painting of the king of Malayu and the princess of Gegelang (fig. 6) depicts the king's entourage as musicians, while the ·Śiwarātrikalpa · prasi (which may be by a jaba) shows a jaba playing the »gambuh · flute (fig. 2). In only one case are jaba and aristocrats shown playing music together. That is the scene in the >Smaradahana oprasi where a servant plays the flute in conjunction with women of higher rank playing other instruments. Even this could be explained by the fact that the playing of the long flutes is extremely difficult, demanding a lot of strength, and therefore, perhaps, inappropriate to refined princesses. Even these exceptional images do not show, however, anything like the idea of playing music in a »seka«. This would seem to indicate that the idea of the »seka« was not central to the courtly music of the nineteenth century, whereas it plays a part in modern representations. I emphasize that this is a matter of representation, not of the actuality of musical practice in the past. No doubt jaba and aristocrats did play together, but they can hardly have done so as equals. Research on the other so-called democratic Balinese institutions, namely the village and hamlet councils, indicates that they are really dominated by strategic alliances between those who act as patrons and those who have the kind of oratorical skill to sway others.73 Undoubtedly the commoners who played music in the courts would have felt the pressure of aristocratic influence, or patronage, and the ideological dominance of the brahmana, who were often the articulators of ruling ideas. These brahmana, who wrote texts like the Aji Gurnita and illustrated the prasi, are nowhere shown as participating in the playing of music, even though they almost certainly would have. Because their interests were intertwined with those of the courts, the brahmana have depicted the aristocrats as the social group that plays music, to the exclusion of the jaba, since the inclusion of the jaba would have played down the dominance of the aristocrats.

In the same way, the jaba have not depicted themselves as performing with the aristocrats or brahmana, because to do so would also require representing the dominance of aristocrats and brahmana. Such a denial by the jaba of their own talents would hardly serve to further their interests.

The play of ideas that I have referred to as strategy is an integral part of the way that social groups express their own interests through forms of representation. Although there is a generally shared set of concepts found throughout nineteenth-century Bali in relation to courtly music, the common concepts are always represented from a particular point of view. Both jaba and brahmana show music as the background to courtly pleasures and pursuits; but – without challenging the common aesthetic basis of this activity – both groups have been influenced by the social differences to show artistic differences. This is not a matter of conspiring consciously against one another, but of being influenced by the ideas and perceptions of each group about itself and about the larger context of its participation in the artistic activities of courtly society. The strength of the courts as loci of artistic activities and ruling ideas was that they thrived on the interaction of different groups. In the same way, the twentieth-century transformation of music itself implies that the nature of this interaction has also been transformed, and along with it the nature of Balinese society, but this is a matter for future research by musicologists, art historians, and sociologists in Bali.

<sup>72</sup> See Adrian Vickers, Extended Character in the Balinese Courtly Romances, in: Indonesia Circle 26 (1982), pp. 44-50.

<sup>73</sup> See Mark Hobart, Orators and Patrons: Two Types of Political Leader in Balinese Village Society, in: Maurice Bloch (ed.), Political Language and Oratory in Traditional Society (London 1975), pp. 65-92.

Table

Compositions of gamelan according to the ›Aji Gurnita‹

Instruments		Gamelan						
	gam.	s.p.	lég.	jog.	bar.	beb.	gong	
Colotomic Instruments								
gong (male and female) kempul bebendé	+	+	+	+	+	+ + +	+ + +	
ponggang						+	+	
kemong (hanging) (squatting)		•	+	+	+	+	+	
kempiung		+	· ·		+	2	2	
kajar kenong	+	+	+			+	+	
kenang	+						Т	
Drums								
gupekan (male and female)	+	+	+					
kendang (male) (female)				+	+	+	+	
Melodic Instruments								
rebab	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
flutes: ageng (paired)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
barangan (paired)	++	+	+	+	+	+		
pagabah and panitir	+	+		+				
trompong (ageng) (barangan)		+		+			2	
réong (ageng and barangan)						4		
gender (ageng and barangan)			+		+			
curing (ageng and barangan)		+		+				
Accompanying Metallophones (paired)								
gendèr: jegogan		+	+	+	+	+	+	
jublag		+	+	+	+		++	
panyacah kantilan		+	+	+	+	+	+	
gangsa: large		+		+	· ·	+	+	
medium		+	+	+	+	+	+	
small		+	+	+	+	+	+	
kenyer	+							
Percussive Instruments								
cymbals: cèng-cèng (large)						1	1	
(medium)						2 3	2 3	
(small) kecek (large)			1		1	3	1	
(medium)			2		2		2	
(small)			3		3		3	
rincik (medium)		1		1				
(small)	4	2		2				

Instruments	Gamelan						
	gam.	s.p.	lég.	jog.	bar.	beb.	gong
kala-kala					1		
kangsi	2	1		1			
gumanak: large						3	3
medium	1	3	3	3	3		3
genta orag: medium						2	2
small			2		2		2

Explanation of the table (following the Aji Gurnita, fol. 7b–16b). gam. = gambuh; s. p. = semar pagulingan; lég. = légong; jog. = jogèd; bar. = barong; beb. = bebonangan; gong = gamelan gong.

As far as possible (with some adjustments made in the tabulation) the ordering of instruments in the Aji Gurnita has been followed. All the colotomic instruments are types of gongs, ranging from large (the gong itself) to small (the "kenang", more commonly referred to as "kelenang"). The "kenong" or "kempiung" of the Aji Gurnita may be what McPhee refers to as "kempli". The "bebendé" and "kajar" are different from the other gongs in that they have sunken bosses. The "ponggang" consists of two horizontal gongs played together. The large gongs and the drums are found in "lanang" (= male) and "wadon" (= female) pairs, the "wadon" being the larger. The drums of the gamelan "bebonangan" and gamelan gong are larger than those of the others. In referring to drums, "gupekan" is used for drums played only by hand, and "kendang" for those played with sticks.

All the melodic instruments, with the exception of the largest and smallest »gambuh« flutes, are played in pairs of »pangumbang« (= floater) and »pangisep« (= sniffer) pairs, and in »ageng« (= main) and »barangan« (= accompanying) sets. All the »gambuh« flutes are larger than the other types of flutes, and their »ageng« is referred to as »pangageng« in the text to indicate this. Their »pagabah« (= carrier) flutes are slightly larger than the »pangageng«, and the »panitir« (= repeating) flutes slightly smaller than the »barangan«. The »trompong« consists of horizontally arranged small gong beakers, played by one man (in the case of the »ageng trompong«), while the »réong« can be arranged in rows when not carried, but are played in pairs. The ›Aji Gurnita‹ does not distinguish between the »réong« and the slightly larger »bonang«. The »gendèr« are metallophones with their keys suspended over vertical bamboo resonator pipes, while the »gangsa« and »saron« metallophones have their keys resting on smaller sound boxes, as is also the case with the »curing«, which is a multi-octave version of the other »gangsa«. The larger, melodic »gendèr« have two-octave ranges, in contrast to the one-octave accompanying »gendèr«.

The cymbals are also arranged in descending order of size (»cèng-cèng«, »kecek«, and »rincik«). The »kangsi« are cup-shaped cymbals mounted on the end of split sticks. The »kala-kala« may be a type of drum, but it could also be a type of »bebendé« or even cymbal. The »gumanak« are hollow metal cylinders which are played by rubbing them together. The »genta orag« is a circular arrangement of racks of bells. The »kenyer« (also called »kenyor«, »kenyir«, and »ganjor«) is a type of very small »gangsa«, but with only three keys of the same size, which are played simultaneously by a three-headed mallet.



# Catalogus A Corpus of Trecento Pictures with Musical Subject Matter, Part I, Instalment 2

### Howard Mayer Brown

### Introduction

This second instalment of the Corpus of Trecento Pictures with Musical Subject Matter follows the same procedures as outlined in the first (Imago Musicae, vol. 1, pp. 189–243). Like the first, it lists only panel paintings, frescoes, and mosaics signed by or attributed to particular artists or their followers, and it is arranged alphabetically by artist. It extends the coverage of works by assigned artists through to Meo da Siena. One more instalment will be necessary to complete the section devoted to attributed pictures. A single instalment should suffice for pictures without attribution, and another for sculpture and minor arts. The more selective corpus of manuscript illuminations with musical subject matter will doubtless require several instalments.

The present instalment begins out of alphabetical order, with a single entry devoted to Deodatus Orlandi, who thus follows rather than precedes Duccio di Buoninsegna. But it seemed preferable to include Deodatus here rather than to add his Last Judgment to the addenda that will inevitably be necessary once the first version of this Corpus is completed. Indeed, certain additions and corrections have been made to the second instalment even before it is published, and these explain the fact that two numbers (163 and 251) have been deleted from the sequence, and two numbers (276.1 and 285.1) have been added. It seemed wise to add numbers following the principles familiar from the classification of books in libraries, that is, by means of a series of decimal points following the main number. Thus, additions between 276 and 277 will be numbered 276.1, 276.2, 276.3, and so on, and additions between 276.1 and 276.2 will be numbered 276.1.1, 276.1.2, 276.1.3, and so on.

I have deviated from my stated policy in the case of the pictures by Giotto. Even though I have normally listed pictures attributed to the workshop or the followers of a particular artist separately, immediately after the list of works signed by or attributed to that artist, in the case of Giotto I have mixed pictures assigned by art historians to him with those assigned to his followers, in order not to separate pictures that form a series, such as the frescoes in Assisi, those in the Arena Chapel in Padua, and so on.

The second instalment includes a number of Florentine painters of the second half of the fourteenth century, such as Giovanni del Biondo and Jacopo di Cione, whose works pose unusually difficult questions of attribution to art historians, at least partly because many of their pictures seem to have been painted according to formula by various members of a workshop. Moreover, the Corpus includes whatever information I could gather about paintings sold on the art market during the past fifty years or so, and now dispersed in private collections, paintings that have therefore not been as carefully studied as those in public museums, and for many of which good photographs are not available. In attributing those pictures about which there has been considerable disagreement, and those pictures that have not been reported in art historical literature, I have tried to make what judgments I could, following, for the most part, the lists of works assigned to each painter in Miklòs Boskovits, Pittura fiorentina alla vigilia del Rinascimento, 1370–1400 (Firenze 1975), the latest comprehensive survey of this repertory, but I

have also made extensive use of the older lists compiled by Bernard Berenson and Richard Offner. I have given cross-references in most cases to the painters assigned the works by other art historians, and, in any case, a particular painting can be found by seeking it in the Index of Places.

In the introduction to the first instalment, I stated my policy about including some works of art from the thirteenth, and some from the fifteenth centuries. In keeping with that policy, I have omitted from the second instalment such important early fifteenth-century figures as Francesco di Antonio di Bartholomeo, Gentile da Fabriano, and the Master of the Bambino Vispo, whose works can in any case quickly be surveyed by consulting the lists published by Berenson, the anthology of pictures compiled by Fremantle, the lists included in Boskovits's study of Florentine painting from the late trecento, and, in the case of Gentile da Fabriano, from the catalogue that forms an integral part of Keith Christiansen, Gentile da Fabriano (London 1982). Although the work of these artists falls outside the chronological limits I have set for myself, I left them out of the Corpus with some reluctance, and after much thought, since their paintings relate so directly to those included in the Corpus.

The index of musical instruments attempts to group instruments by generic type. Scholars may well question some of my decisions, for example, those about which instruments are lutes and which gitterns, which are shawms and which trumpets, and so on. In particular, scholars may challenge my decision to use the term »double recorder« for all trecento instruments with two tubes, whether or not they appear to be conical, a terminology that may cause some confusion which I hope to attempt to dispel in the near future. I have grouped all such instruments together simply because I believe that artists indeed intended only a single instrumental type. Even though some of the instruments appear to be conical from the outside, we cannot ever be certain from the evidence provided by paintings about the actual shape of the bore. Moreover in some pictures, such as Simone Martini's well-known fresco showing the investiture of St. Martin (no. 291), a whistle mouthpiece is clearly depicted. In no case, however, has a trecento artist clearly shown us a double reed connected to an instrument with a double tube. Most important, though, whoever deals with »double recorders« (or »double shawms« or auloi, if that is actually what they are intended to be) must consider carefully all examples of instruments with double tubes in trecento art, and it is therefore highly advisable to group them together, whether or not a scholarly consensus ever develops about their true character.

In order to facilitate finding pictures assigned to different artists, the Index of Places includes works from the first as well as the second instalment, and the indexes of principal subject matter and instruments are likewise cumulative. On the other hand, the index of photo sources, and the bibliography cover only those pictures listed in this second instalment. As in the first instalment, the bibliography given for each work is not intended to be comprehensive; it is meant only to point the reader to some recent and some more general studies, and especially to reference works and museum catalogues where more complete references to earlier studies can be found.

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# A Corpus of Trecento Pictures with Musical Subject Matter

Part I, Instalment 2:
Pictures Signed by or Attributed to Particular Artists or Their Followers:
Deodatus to Meo da Siena

### Deodatus Orlandi (flourished 1288-1301), Lucca

118. Life of St. John Baptist: Last Judgment, ca. 1290-1300

Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie (Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz), Inv. no. 1041 (bottom right panel of tabernacle shutters with six scenes)

Four angels play trumpets.

Photo: Museum (Jörg P. Anders, Photo-

Bibl.: Berlin Cat, p. 136; GarrisonIRP, no. 321, p. 122

Domenico da Tolmezzo. See under paintings without attribution: Venzone, Cathedral.

Donato di San Vitale. See Catarino Veneziano.

Falconi, Bernardo di Nello di Giovanni. See Bartolo di Fredi, and also under paintings without attribution: Pisa, Museo civico.

Fei, Paolo di Giovanni (ca. 1345-1411), Siena

119. Virgin and Child, ca. 1390-1395

Siena, S. Maria della Scala, panel painting Three angels sing.

Photo: Grassi

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:130 (fig. 419); MalloryF, pp. 81f., and 235, no. 15 (figs. 26 and 27)

120. Adoration of the Shepherds

Vatican, Pinacoteca, no. 268 (201), predella

panel

In the background, angels announce the birth of Christ to two shepherds, one of whom has a bagpipe.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:129; Vatican Guida,

p. 86; VaticanPin, fig. 133

121. Assumption of the Virgin, ca. 1410
Washington, National Gallery, Samuel H.
Kress Collection, no. 1623, panel painting
Six angels play fiddle, portative organ, harp,
lute or gittern, incurved trapezoidal psaltery,
and lute.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:130 (fig. 267); CarliPS, p. 246; MalloryF, pp. 177–191, and 241, no. 24 (fig. 84); van Marle, 2:529 (as in the Chigi Zondadori collection, Siena); ShapleyPK, p. 61 (pl. 160); Shapley Washington IP, 1:177 (pl. 123)

### Fei, Paolo di Giovanni, follower of

122. Virgin and Child with saints and angels Esztergom, Keresztény Múzeum, no. 55.151 (formerly Ramboux Collection, Cologne; and Ipolyi Collection, Esztergom), central panel of triptych

Four angels play lute or gittern, psaltery, lute

or gittern, and fiddle.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BoskovitsCA, pl. II/21

Fei, Paolo di Giovanni. See also under paintings without attribution: Munich, Alte Pinakothek, Siena, Pinacoteca nazionale, and formerly Uccle, van Gelder Collection.

Francesco (= »Maestro Francesco«, active during the second half of the 14th century), Florence

123. Coronation of the Virgin with saints and angels

Homeless (formerly in Lucerne, Fischer Collection; Milan, private collection; and Rome,

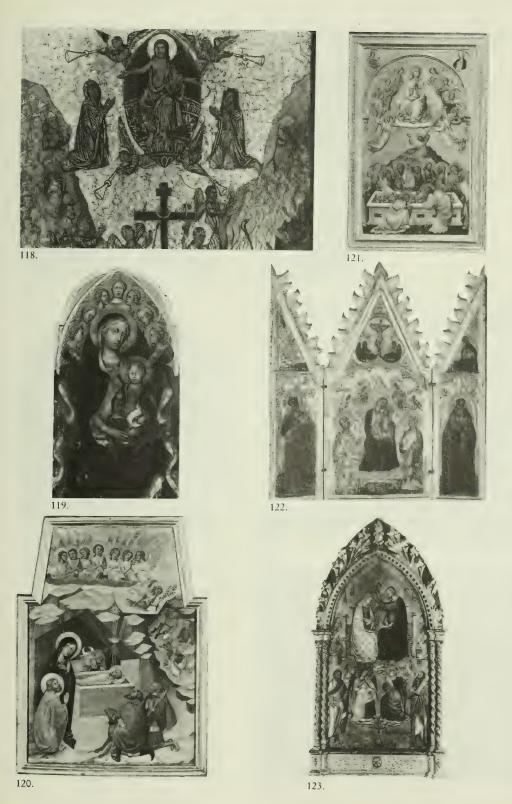
Segni Collection), panel painting

On either side of the central figures, two angels play double recorder and psaltery. Below the throne, four angels play two trumpets, fiddle, and psaltery.

Photo: Fototeca Berenson (attributed to

Giovanni del Biondo)

Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, pp. 126 and 237 (fig. 398)



### Francesco d'Antonio da Viterbo, called il Balletta (documented ca. 1430–1476), Viterbo

124. Virgin in glory

Tuscania, S. Lorenzo, central panel of a triptych

Two angels play tambourine and double recorder.

Photo: FaldiPV (Ugo Bozzi Editore) Bibl.: FaldiPV, pp. 19f. (fig. 63)

### Francesco d'Antonio. See also Cola di Pietro.

### Francesco di Michele (active ca. 1385), Florence

125a-b. Coronation of the Virgin, commissioned 1385

Florence, Tabernacolo dei Logi a Colonnata (detached fresco [a] with sinopia [b])
Two angels play fiddle (?) and lute or gittern.
Photo: Florence, Soprintendenza
Bibl.: Florence MostraAS, nos. 185 and 186,
pp. 73f.; SalmiFA, pp. 16f.

### Francesco di Segna. See Lorenzetti (Pietro).

### Francesco di Vannuccio (active ca. 1361-1388), Siena

126. Assumption of the Virgin

Cambridge, private collection, panel of a diptych (the other panel shows the Annunciation)

Six angels play lute, unclear instrument, double recorder, shawm, psaltery, and fiddle. Photo: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:145 (pl. 383); Pope-HennessyD, pp. 137–141 (fig. 13); Wildenstein Cat APF, no. 90 (pl. 78)

Francesco di Vannuccio. See also under paintings without attribution: Siena, Pinacoteca nazionale.

# Franchi, Rossello di Jacopo. See Rossello di Jacopo Franchi.

Gaddi, Agnolo (ca. 1350-1396), Florence

127. Virgin and Child with angels, 1385–1390 Berlin (DDR), Staatliche Museen (Bodemuseum), no. 1039, central panel of a polyptych

Four of the six angels at the foot of the throne appear to be singing; the other two play psaltery and fiddle.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:66; BoskovitsPF, pp. 295 f. (fig. 125); ColeAG, p. 75 (pl. 1); van Marle, 3:571–572 (fig. 319; attributed to Starnina); and see no. 129 below

128. Annunciation to Zacharias, 1383–1385 Florence, S. Croce, Castellani Chapel, scene from a fresco cycle

On the left, one man plays a rather fanciful psaltery.

Photo: Alinari 16259

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:67; BoskovitsPF, p. 297 (fig. 253); ColeAG, pp. 78f. (pl. 19); van Marle, 3:566 (attributed to Starnina)







126.









127.



128.

### (Gaddi, Agnolo)

129. The Feast of Herod, 1388

Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. 290 (no. 1302), pre-

Salome dances to the accompaniment of a musician playing a fiddle.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:68 (fig. 440; attributed to Lorenzo Monaco); BoskovitsPF, p. 351; ColeAG, pp. 84-87 (pl. 47; argues that the predella belongs with the polyptych in Berlin, no. 127 above); GronauEW, p. 218 (attributed to Lorenzo Monaco); van Marle, 3:321-322 (fig. 186; attributed to Taddeo Gaddi); Paris Louvre Cat, p. 196 (A. Gaddi or Lorenzo Monaco); ZeriI, pp. 554-558 (attributed to Lorenzo Monaco)

130. Presentation of the Virgin, 1392-1394

Prato, Cathedral, Cappella della Sacra Cintola, scene from a fresco cycle Behind the priests in the temple, women read

(or sing?) from a book, and one woman plays a lute or gittern (since her back is to the viewer, only the neck of the instrument is visible).

Photo: ColeAG

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:68; BoskovitsPF, p. 302; ColeAG, pp. 87f. (pl. 59); van Marle, 3:554-556

131. Wedding of the Virgin, 1392-1394

Prato, Cathedral, Cappella della Sacra Cintola, scene from a fresco cycle

On the left, two men play trumpets.

Photo: Alinari 30748

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:68; BoskovitsPF, p. 302; ColeAG, pp. 87f. (pl. 62); van Marle, 3:554-556

132. Nativity, 1392-1394

Prato, Cathedral, Cappella della Sacra Cinto-

la, scene from a fresco cycle

Above the Nativity scene, on the roof of the manger, one angel plays the lute, another appears to be singing, and four angels dance in a circle. - On the lower right, two shepherds play shawm and bagpipe.

Photo: ColeAG

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:68; BoskovitsPF, p. 302; ColeAG, pp. 87f. (pl. 63); van Marle, 3:554-556

133. Coronation of the Virgin with saints and angels, 1392-1394

Prato, Cathedral, Cappella della Sacra Cinto-

la, scene from a fresco cycle

On the left in the front row, four angels play harp, lute, psaltery, and portative organ; on the right, three angels play fiddle, unclear instrument (probably fiddle or lute), and shawm. Another angel on the right may also play an instrument, and some angels may sing.

Photo: Alinari (Brogi 14213)

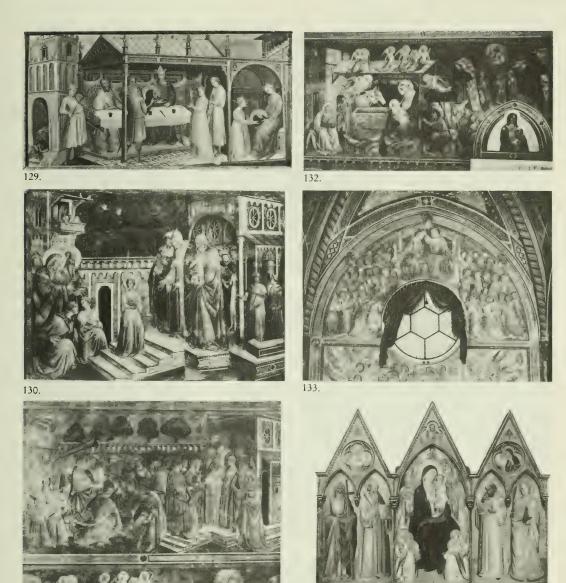
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:68; BoskovitsPF, p. 302; ColeAG, pp. 87f. (pls. 65 and 68); van Marle, 3:554-556

134. Virgin and Child with angels, 1385-1390 Washington, National Gallery, Andrew Mellon Collection, no. 4, central panel of a polyptych

> Two of the six angels at the foot of the throne play psaltery and lute.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:69; BoskovitsPF, p. 304 (pl. 127); ColeAG, p. 89 (pl. 81); FremantleFG, p. 271 (fig. 553); Shapley Washington IP, pp. 192f. (pl. 134)



134.

131.

### (Gaddi, Agnolo)

135. Coronation of the Virgin with angels,

Washington, National Gallery, no. 314 (Kress 364), presumably the central panel of a dismembered polyptych

Two of the six angels at the foot of the throne play lute and gittern; some of the other angels may sing.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:69 (pl. 350); BoskovitsPF, p. 304 (fig. 267); ColeAG, pp. 89f. (pls. 83 and 85); ShapleyPK, p. 40 (pls. 98 and 99); Shapley Washington IP, pp. 194f. (pl. 135)

136. Virgin and Child with angels, 1375–1380
Kreuzlingen (Switzerland), H. Kisters Collection (formerly in Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection), presumably the central panel of a dismembered polyptych
Two angels play portative organ and fiddle.
Photo: Kisters Collection
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:69 (as in Vaduz; attributed to Gaddi); BoskovitsEW, pp. 208–215
(fig. 68); BoskovitsPF, p. 300 (pl. 75b; attributed to Gaddi); ColeAG, p. 73 (shop of Gaddi)

### Gaddi, Agnolo, follower of

137. Ascension of Christ, 1394-1396

Florence, S. Miniato al Monte, tabernacle panel

Eight angels accompany the ascending Christ. Four of them play lute and portative organ (on the left), and psaltery and fiddle (on the right).

Photo: ColeAG

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:67 (pl. 354; attributed to Gaddi); BoskovitsPF, p. 297 (attributed to Gaddi); ColeAG, pp. 51–56 (pls. 87–88; attributed to Master of the Altenburg Last Supper and an unidentified Florentine); FremantleFG, p. 267 (fig. 538; attributed to Gaddi); van Marle, 3:556 (attributed to Gaddi)

Gaddi, Agnolo. See also Daddi, Gaddi (Taddeo), Lorenzo di Niccolò, Master of S. Verdiana, Master of the Straus Madonna, and Master of the Virgin of Mercy.

Gaddi, Taddeo (ca. 1300-1366), Florence

138. Virgin and Child with saints and angels, ca. 1335

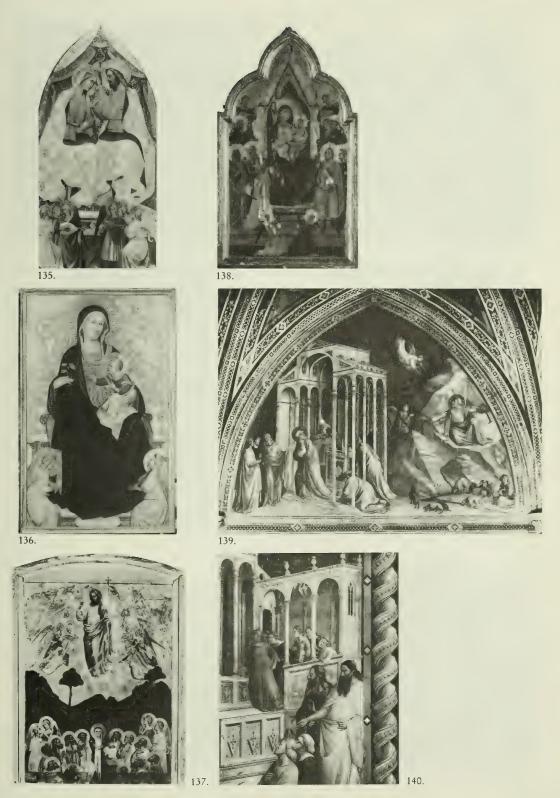
Bern, Kunstmuseum, no. 877, panel painting Two angels play lute and psaltery.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:69; LadisTG, p. 130, no. 8; OffnerSuppl, p. 67

139. Annunciation to Joachim, ca. 1328–1330
Florence, S. Croce, Baroncelli Chapel, scene from a fresco cycle
A shepherd holds a bagpipe.
Photo: Alinari 3896
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:70 (pl. 124); BoskovitsPF, p. 16 (pl. 4); LadisTG, pp. 88–112, no. 4 (figs. 4a–1, 4a–2, and 4a–5); van Marle, 3:323–329; OffnerSuppl, p. 68; SirénG, 1:136 (pl. 114)

140. Presentation in the Temple, ca. 1328–1330
Florence, S. Croce, Baroncelli Chapel, scene from a fresco cycle
One woman in the temple has a psaltery tucked under her arm.
Photo: Alinari 46096
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:70 (pl. 124); DonatiTG, pp. 333f. (fig. 24); LadisTG, pp. 88–112, no.
4 (figs. 4a–1 and 4a–9); van Marle, 3:323–329; OffnerSuppl, p. 68; SirénG, 1:138–139 (pl. 116)



### (Gaddi, Taddeo)

141. Wedding of the Virgin, ca. 1328-1330 Florence, S. Croce, Baroncelli Chapel, scene from a fresco cycle In the left background, four musicians play two trumpets, bagpipe, and portative organ. Photo: Alinari 3900 Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:70 (pl. 124); BrownFB, pp. 324-339 (ill. on p. 333); ColettiP, 2:101; LadisTG, pp. 88-112, no. 4 (figs. 4a-1, 4a-11, and color pl., p. 2); FremantleFG, p. 83 (fig. 161); van Marle, 3:323-339 (fig. 187); OffnerSuppl, p. 68; SirénG, 1:139 (pl. 117)

### Gaddi, Taddeo, shop of

142. Nativity, ca. 1330-1335 Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. no. 73.7-1, wing of a lost triptych One shepherd plays a shawn. Photo: Museum

Bibl.: LadisTG, pp. 206f., no. 38 (fig. 38-1)

143. Virgin and Child with saints and angels, 1354?

Florence, S. Felicità, Sacristy, central panel of a polyptych

Two angels play portative organ and double recorder.

Photo: Alinari (Brogi 19904)

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:70, ColeAG, p. 81 (pl. 34); DonatiTG, p. 39 (figs. 76 and 77); FremantleFG, nos. 147 and 148; LadisTG, pp. 232-235, no. 58 (figs. 58-1 and 58-2); van Marle, 3:337 (fig. 196); OffnerSuppl, p. 68; SirénG, 1:155 (pl. 134)

144. Coronation of the Virgin, ca. 1330-1335 Liége, Musée diocésain, Purave inv. 1A. panel of a diptych Six angels play two trumpets, double recorder, portative organ, fiddle, and bagpipe. Photo: Museum

Bibl.: LadisTG, p. 205, no. 37 (pl. 37-1); OffnerSuppl, p. 69

145. Nativity, ca. 1335 Portland Art Museum, Inv. no. 69.68, wing of a lost triptych Two angels play double recorder and psal-

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: LadisTG, p. 210, no. 41 (fig. 41-1); OffnerSuppl, p. 70

### Gaddi, Taddeo, follower of

146. Musical angels, ca. 1330-1335 Stockholm, National Museum, N. M. 2951, tabernacle with the Annunciation, Crucifixion, saints and angels In the roof of the tabernacle, two angels play

Photo: Museum

fiddles.

Bibl.: LadisTG, p. 195, no. 30 (fig. 30-1); OffnerSuppl, p. 71; StockholmNM Cat, p. 230













### (Gaddi, Taddeo, follower of)

147. Ascension of St. John Evangelist, mid-1330s
Poppi (Casentino), Castello, Chapel, scene
from a fresco cycle
At least two clerics sing from a book.
Photo: Alinari 9795e
Bibly Brancop F. 1271; Donoti T.C., pp. 326

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:71; DonatiTG, pp. 32f. (fig. 3); LadisTG, pp. 250f. (fig. 69); van

Marle, 3:344; OffnerSuppl, p. 70

148. Feast of Herod, mid-1330s

Poppi (Casentino), Castello, Chapel, scene from a fresco cycle Salome dances while a musician accompanies her on the gittern.

Photo: Alinari 9795c

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:71; LadisTG, pp. 250f.; van Marle, 3:344; OffnerSuppl, p. 70; SirénG, 1:156 (pl. 137)

- Gaddi, Taddeo. See also Gaddi (Agnolo), Giotto, and under paintings without attribution: Pisa, Camposanto.
- Gerini, Lorenzo di Niccolò. See Lorenzo di Niccolò.
- Gerini, Niccolò di Pietro (active from 1368, died 1414/1415), Florence
- 149. St. Anthony Abbot with angels, ca. 1375–1380

Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, panel painting

Two angels play psaltery and lute.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:158; BoskovitsPF, p. 404; Boston Gardner Cat, pp. 98–100 (ill.); OffnerSF, pp. 83–95 (fig. 7); OffnerSuppl, p. 72

150. Virgin and Child with angels, ca. 1380–1385 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, no. 2078, probably the central panel of a dismembered triptych Two angels play psaltery and lute. Photo: Museum Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 404 (pl. 62b);

BrownTP, pl. 6; CambridgeFM Cat, 2:59–60; van Marle, 3:506 (attributed to Jacopo di Cione); OffnerSuppl, p. 80

151. Virgin and Child with angels, dated 1375
Impruneta, Collegiata di S. Maria, central panel of a polyptych (the central panel is probably by Gerini; the polyptych as a whole was probably painted by him, or Tommaso del Mazza [active 1375–1391] and Pietro Nelli [active by 1375, died 1419]; see also nos. 152–154)

Two angels play fiddles. Photo: Alinari 43948

Bibl.: BellosiDN, p. 183 (fig. 8); BoskovitsPF, pp. 409 f. and 420, with a summary of varying attributions (pl. 61); FremantleFG, p. 335 (figs. 685 and 686; attributed to Pietro Nelli and Tommaso del Mazza)

152. Wedding of the Virgin, dated 1375 Impruneta, Collegiata di S. Maria, panel of a polyptych (by Gerini, or Tommaso del Mazza and Pietro Nelli; see also nos. 151, 153, and 154)

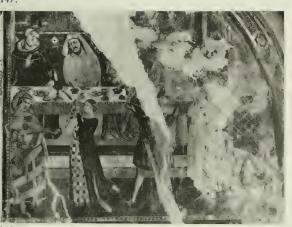
Two men play trumpets.

Photo: Alinari 43958

Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, pp. 409f. and 420, with a summary of varying attributions (pl. 61); FremantleFG, p. 339 (figs. 686 and 694; attributed to Pietro Nelli and Tommaso del Mazza)













152.

### (Gerini, Niccolò di Pietro)

153. Nativity, dated 1375

Impruneta, Collegiata di S. Maria, panel of a polyptych (by Gerini, or Tommaso del Mazza and Pietro Nelli; see also nos. 151, 152, and 154)

Two angels play fiddle and psaltery.

Photo: Alinari 43957

Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, pp. 409f. and 420, with a summary of varying attributions (pl. 61); FremantleFG, p. 336 (fig. 686; attributed to Pietro Nelli and Tommaso del Mazza)

154. Annunciation to Joachim, dated 1375 Impruneta, Collegiata di S. Maria, predella panel of a polyptych (by Gerini, or Tommaso del Mazza and Pietro Nelli; see also nos. 151–153)

A shepherd plays a bagpipe.

Photo: Alinari 43954

Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, pp. 409f. and 420, with a summary of varying attributions (pl. 61); FremantleFG, p. 337 (figs. 686 and 688; attributed to Pietro Nelli and Tommaso del Mazza)

155. Feast of Herod, dated 1387

London, National Gallery, no. 579, predella panel of a polyptych

Salome dances, accompanied by a man playing a fiddle.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:160; BoskovitsPF, p. 410; LondonNG Cat, pp. 386–389; van Marle, 3:618 (fig. 348); OffnerSuppl, p. 74

156. Virgin and Child with saints and angels, ca. 1380–1385
Sold at Christies, London, 7 July 1972, no. 45, panel painting
Two angels play psaltery and fiddle.
Photo: Christie, Manson and Woods, Ltd.
Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 410 (fig. 189); FremantleFG, p. 329 (fig. 680; attributed to Master of the Arte della Lana Coronation);
OffnerSuppl, p. 86 (fig. 163)

157. Coronation of the Virgin with saints and angels, ca. 1390

Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, no. 951.1059, panel painting
Two angels play psaltery and fiddle.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:160 (pl. 368); BoskovitsPF, p. 411; BrownTA, p. 121 (pl. 4); FremantleFG, p. 326 (fig. 669; attributed to Master of the Arte della Lana Coronation); OffnerSuppl, p. 83 (attributed to school of Gerini)

158. Ascension, dated 1392

Pisa, S. Francesco, Sala capitolare, scene from a fresco cycle

Four angels play two fiddles and two psalteries. Some of them may sing.

Photo: Alinari 8865

Bibl.: AntalFP, pp. 210f. (pl. 74); BerensonF, 1:160 (pl. 377); BoskovitsPF, p. 413; CarliPPT, pl. 46; FremantleFG, p. 317 (fig. 652); van Marle, 3:618–619 (fig. 349); OffnerSuppl, p. 74

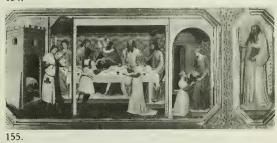




153.







158.



### Gerini, Niccolò di Pietro, school of

159. Coronation of the Virgin with angels, ca.

Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau-Kunstmuseum, no. 36, panel painting

Two angels play fiddle and psaltery.

Photo: Museum (Deutsche Photothek Dresden)

Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 402; FremantleFG, p. 325 (fig. 667; attributed to Master of the Arte della Lana Coronation); Oertel Altenburg Cat, p. 129 (pl. 46b); Offner III/V, pp. 249 and 271; OffnerSuppl, p. 75

160. Virgin and Child with saints and angels, ca. 1390-1400

Altenburg, Staatliches Lindenau-Kunstmuseum, no. 68, panel painting

Two angels play psaltery and lute.

Photo: Museum (Deutsche Photothek Dresden)

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:138 (attributed to Master of the Arte della Lana Coronation); BerensonH, p. 132 (fig. 223, tentatively attributed to Lorenzo di Niccolò); BoskovitsPF, p. 402; FremantleFG, p. 326 (figs. 670, 671, and 675; attributed to Master of the Arte della Lana Coronation); Oertel Altenburg Cat, pp. 128f. (pl. 47a); OffnerSuppl, p. 75

161. Virgin and Child with angels
Sold at Sothebys, London, 1950
Two angels play fiddle and psaltery.

Photo: OffnerSuppl

Bibl.: OffnerSuppl, p. 83 (fig. 155)

162. Coronation of the Virgin with saints and angels

Rome, Moratilla Collection (in 1946), panel painting

Two angels play lute and portative organ.

Photo: OffnerSuppl

Bibl.: OffnerSuppl, p. 84 (fig. 159)

163. Number deleted









161.



16\_.

### (Gerini, Niccolò di Pietro, school of)

164. Coronation of the Virgin with saints and angels

Formerly in Florence, Volterra Collection Two angels play portative organ and fiddle. Photo: OffnerSuppl

Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 359 (fig. 51, as Master of the Rinuccini Chapel); OffnerSuppl, p. 86 (fig. 166; as homeless)

- Gerini, Niccolò di Pietro. See also Jacopo di Cione, Lorenzo di Niccolò, Master of the Arte della Lana Coronation, Master of the Prato Annunciation, Master of S. Verdiana, and Master of the Virgin of Mercy.
- Getto di Jacopo. See under paintings without attribution: Pisa, Museo nazionale.

### Giotto di Bondone (ca. 1267-1337), Florence

165. St. Francis being honored by a simple man, ca. 1297–1300

Assisi, S. Francesco, Upper Church, scene from a fresco cycle

A bell hangs in the building in the left background.

Photo: Alinari 5253

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:79; FrancescoSA, pp. 122f., no. 8.31; GiottoAP, 1:48–49 (pl. 26); GiottoCP, p. 91 (fig. 20 and pls. II and III); van Marle, 3:17–18 (fig. 4); TintoriPL, pp. 82–84 (fig. 28, attributed to Master of S. Cecilia)

166. St. Francis and the Crib at Greccio, ca. 1297–1300

Assisi, S. Francesco, Upper Church, scene from a fresco cycle

Among the crowd around St. Francis, four monks sing.

Photo: Alinari 49715

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:79 (pl. 31); della PortaIMU, no. 14, pp. 63f. (pl. 14); FrancescoSA, pp. 122f., no. 8.31; GiottoAP, pp. 46–53 (pl. 49 and color pl. I); GiottoCP, p. 91 (fig. 32 and pl. XI); van Marle, 3:32–33 (fig. 15); PrevitaliG, pl. xix; SirénG, p. 12 (pl. 5); TintoriPL, pp. 115–118 (fig. 40)

### Giotto di Bondone, school of

167. St. Francis in Glory, ca. 1334

Assisi, S. Francesco, Lower Church, scene from a fresco cycle

Four angels, two on either side of St. Francis enthroned, play trumpets. In the middle on the left, two angels play pipe and tabor (or shawm or recorder) and tambourine. In the left middle, next to Francis's throne, one angel plays a fiddle. In the front on the left, two angels play shawm and cymbals. On the right in the front, two angels play shawm and cymbals. The angels in the back on either side of Francis's throne hold hands and appear to be dancing.

Photo: Assisi, S. Francesco

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:81 (attributed to Giotto's assistants); della PortaIMU, no. 31, pp. 99–102 (pl. 31); FrancescoSA, pp. 124f., no. 8.33; GiottoAP, 2:91–92 (attributed to Master of the Vele); GiottoCP, p. 122 (fig. 163, with a summary of attributions); HammersteinME, pp. 230f. (pl. 83); LadisTG, p. 242 (discusses earlier attributions to Taddeo Gaddi); van Marle, 3:207 (fig. 121, attributed to Master of the Vele); PrevitaliG, pp. 308f. (fig. 316); SirénG, p. 109 (pl. 89)

168. Decorative medallions showing Elders of the Apocalypse and angels (first decade of the 14th century)

Assisi, S. Francesco, Lower Church, fresco Sixteen elders (or prophets) play cittern-like instruments, three angels play trumpets, and one angel sings.

Photo: Assisi, S. Francesco (one Elder only) Bibl.: della PortaIMU, no. 6, pp. 35–42 (pl. 6)

### Giotto di Bondone, shop of

169. Miriam, sister of Moses, ca. 1310, inscribed »S. Maria [sic], soror Moisy«.

Assisi, S. Francesco, Lower Church, fresco Miriam holds a tambourine (see Exodus 15:20–21).

Photo: della PortaIMU

Bibl.: della PortaIMU, no. 5, pp. 33f. (pl. 5)













# Giotto di Bondone, school of, with the assistance of Taddeo Gaddi and his pupils

170. Coronation of the Virgin with saints and angels (the Baroncelli polyptych), 1320s or 1330s

Florence, S. Croce, Cappella Medici (formerly Baroncelli Chapel), panel painting

From left to right, angels on the left play: two trumpets, portative organ, two shawms, psaltery, fiddle, bagpipe; and angels on the right play: fiddle, bowed gittern (?), two shawms, portative organ, and two trumpets. Some angels sing.

Photo: Alinari 3919

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:82 (detail in pl. 111; attributed to Giotto's assistants); GiottoAP, 1:89 (pls. 247 and 248); GiottoCP, p. 118 (fig. 149); HammersteinME, pp. 234f. (pl. 93); LadisTG, p. 29 (fig. 11); MeissPF, pp. 43 and 114 (fig. 58, attributed to Master of the Stefaneschi Altarpiece); van Marle, 3:317–319 (fig. 185, attributed to Taddeo Gaddi); PrevitaliG, fig. 376; SirénG, pp. 84f. (pls. 65 and 66)

#### Giotto di Bondone

171. The Annunciation to Zachariah, 1320s

Florence, S. Croce, Peruzzi Chapel, scene from a fresco cycle

Three men on the left play shawm and two psalteries (the nature of one of the psalteries is unclear).

Photo: Alinari 3928

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:84; BolognaNG, p. 13 (fig. 18); FremantleFG, p. 10 (fig. 9); GiottoAP, 2:78–81 (pl. 190); GiottoCP, p. 113 (fig. 117); SirénG, p. 66 (pl. 53)

172. Feast of Herod, 1320s

Florence, S. Croce, Peruzzi Chapel, scene from a fresco cycle

Salome's dance is accompanied by a man playing a fiddle. The picture is shown as it was before it was restored; a later painter has given Salome a fanciful lyre, instead of the jar she originally held (and which has now been restored to her).

Photo: Alinari 3930

Bibl.: AntalFP, p. 178 (pl. 21a); BerensonF, 1:84; BolognaNG, fig. 61; BoskovitsPF, p. 15 (pl. 2); ColettiP, 1:lvii-lx (pl. 105);

GiottoAP, 2:78–81 (pl. 192); GiottoCP, p. 113 (fig. 119 and pl. XLVII); LadisTG, p. 24 (fig. 10); van Marle, 3:140 (figs. 84 and 85); PrevitaliG, p. 324 (pl. 357); RagghiantiP, p. 33 (fig. 104); SirénG, pp. 67f. (pl. 55)

173. Adoration of the Magi, ca. 1320–1325 New York, Metropolitan Museum, John

Stewart Kennedy Fund, no. 11.126.1, panel painting

In the left background, one shepherd holds a bagpine.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:82 (attributed to Giotto's assistants); ChristiansenFCI, pp. 46–55 (figs. 46 and 48); GiottoAP, 2:89 (pl. 238); GiottoCP, p. 115 (fig. 131); van Marle, 3:186 (fig. 108; attributed to school of Giotto); New York Met Cat, 1:72 (with ill.); PrevitaliG, p. 251 (color pl. lxxxi); SirénG, p. 79 (pl. 60)

1304–1306
Padua, Arena Chapel (Cappella Scrovegni), scene from a fresco cycle
At the head of the procession, one man plays a fiddle. Facing him, two men play trumpets. Photo: Padua, Museo civico
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:81; BolognaNG, fig. 60; BrownFB, pp. 324–339 (ill. on p. 332); GiottoAP, 1:55–60 (pl. 105); GiottoCP, pp. 98–100 (fig. 64); PrevitaliG, p. 351 (fig. 431); RowleyAL, 1:87; 2:pl. 125; StubblebineG,

174. The Wedding Procession of the Virgin, ca.

175. The Mission to Gabriel, ca. 1304–1306 Padua, Arena Chapel (Cappella Scrovegni),

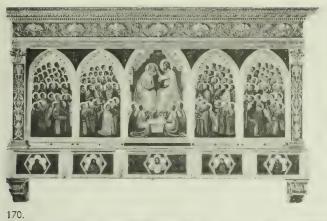
scene from a fresco cycle

pp. 79 f. (fig. 19)

In the left background, two angels play lute and tambourine. In the right background, two angels play psaltery and cymbals. In the right foreground, two angels play trumpet (?) and double recorder. There were probably also angels with musical instruments in the left foreground, but they are no longer visible.

Photo: Padua, Museo civico

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:81; ColettiP, 1:li-liii (pl. 85); GiottoAP, 1:55–60 (pls. 106 and 153); GiottoCP, pp. 98–101; HammersteinME, pp. 227f. (pls. 73 and 75); van Marle, 3:64–65 (fig. 31); StubblebineG, p. 80 (fig. 21)













### (Giotto di Bondone)

176. The Kiss of Judas, ca. 1304–1306
Padua, Arena Chapel (Cappella Scrovegni), scene from a fresco cycle
A man in the right background plays a curved horn.
Photo: Padua, Museo civico
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:81; GiottoAP, 1:55–60

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:81; GiottoAP, 1:55–60 (pl. 134); GiottoCP, pp. 98–104 (fig. 81); van Marle, 3:91–93 (fig. 52); PrevitaliG, p. 220 (color pl. liv); StubblebineG, p. 86 (fig. 41)

177. Last Judgment, ca. 1304–1306
Padua, Arena Chapel (Cappella Scrovegni), fresco
Christ sits in a mandorla. Around him, four angels play trumpets.
Photo: Padua, Museo civico (detail)
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:81; ColettiP, 1:li-liii (pl. 86); GiottoAP, 1:55–60 (pl. 155); GiottoCP, p. 109 (fig. 107); van Marle, 3:108–112 (fig. 66); MeissPF, p. 84 (fig. 88); PrevitaliG, p. 364 (fig. 488 and color pl. lviii); SirénG, pp. 46f. (pl. 31); StubblebineG, pp. 89f. (fig. 74)

178. Allegory of Justice, ca. 1304–1306
Padua, Arena Chapel (Cappella Scrovegni), scene from a fresco cycle
Below the figure of Justice, a couple dance, while a woman sings (?) to a tambourine.
Photo: Padua, Museo civico
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:81; FremantleFG, p. 12
(fig. 13); GiottoAP, 1:55–60 (pl. 167);
GiottoCP, p. 107 (fig. 96 and pl. xxxvii);
PrevitaliG, p. 80 (fig. 112); SirénG, p. 51 (pl. 35); StubblebineG, p. 89 (fig. 62)

### Giotto di Bondone, school of

179. Coronation of the Virgin
Padua, Arena Chapel (Cappella Scrovegni),
scene from a fresco cycle
Four angels play tambourine, lute, shawm,
and gittern (or lute?).
Photo: Alinari 19438
Bibl.: van Marle, 3:255

180. The Martyrdom of St. Paul, ca. 1300
Vatican, Pinacoteca, right panel of the Stefaneschi triptych
On the right, a soldier plays a trumpet.
Photo: Alinari 3773
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:82 (pl. 64; attributed to Giotto's assistants); GiottoAP, 2:90 (pl. 250); GiottoCP, p. 120 (fig. 151); van Marle, 3:195 (fig. 115; attributed to Master of the Vele); PrevitaliG, pp. 283f. (pl. cxi); RedigR, pp. 325–346 (figs. 1, 6, and 20); SirénG, p. 89 (pl. 70); Vatican Pin, fig. 35

#### Giotto di Bondone

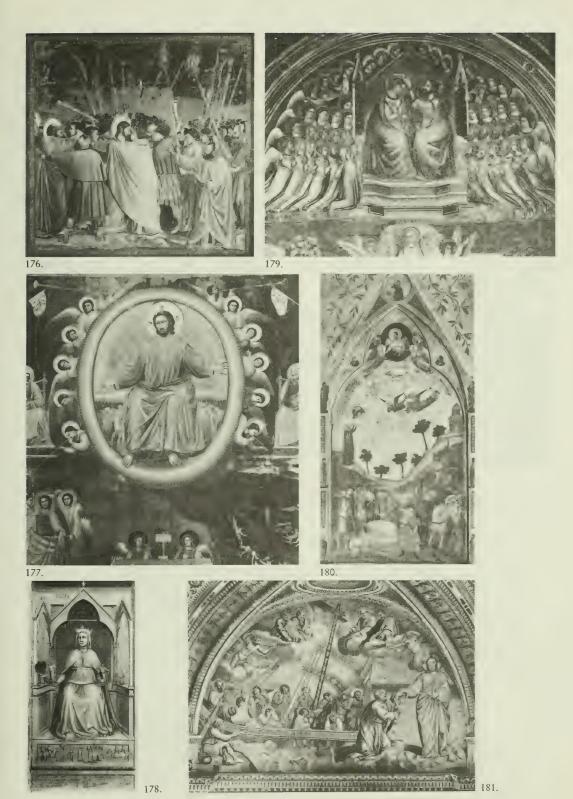
181. Navicella, ca. 1310

Formerly in the old Basilica of St. Peter's, Rome, mosaic

Two wind gods blow through curved horns. Photo: Alinari (Anderson 192)

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:81; GiottoCP, p. 110 (fig. 110, with Parri Spinelli's 15th-century drawing of the mosaic, which shows one wind god); van Marle, 3:12–13 (fig. 1); PrevitaliG, p. 371 (pls. 502–504); SchneiderG, p. 7 (fig. 1, with Spinelli's drawing)

Giotto di Bondone. See also Daddi, Maso di Banco, and under paintings (etc.) without attribution: Florence, Baptistery, Florence, Bargello, and Florence, Cathedral, Campanile.



Giovanni del Biondo (active from 1356, died 1398), Florence

182. Coronation of the Virgin with saints and angels, dated 1373

Fiesole, Cathedral (on deposit from the

Museo Bandini), triptych

Central panel (showing the Coronation): nine angels play four trumpets, portative organ, two lutes, and two fiddles. – Left wing of the triptych (among the saints and prophets): King David plays a psaltery.

Photo: Alinari 7741

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:84; BoskovitsPF, p. 306 (pl. 84); FremantleFG, p. 246 (fig. 490); Offner IV/IV, pp. 126–128 (pl. 29); SuidaFM, p. 46 (attributed to Master of the Rinuccini Chapel)

183. Feast of Herod, dated 1364

Florence, Accademia, no. 8462, predella of a triptych showing the Presentation of Christ in the Temple and Sts. John Baptist and Benedict

Salome dances while a man accompanies her on the fiddle.

Photo: Alinari 24199

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:84 (pl. 289); BoskovitsPF, p. 308; FremantleFG, p. 243 (fig. 485); Offner IV/IV, pp. 67–72 (pl. 17); SuidaFM, pp. 43 f. (attributed to Allegretto Nuzi)

184. Feast of Herod, ca. 1365-1370

Florence, Palazzo Pitti, donazione Contini Bonacossi, no. 27 (formerly in Milan, Chiesa Collection), scene from the right wing of an altarpiece showing St. John Baptist and scenes from his life

Salome dances while a man accompanies her on lute or gittern.

Photo: Alinari 65442

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:85 (pl. 290); BerensonH, p. 114 (fig. 185); BoskovitsPF, p. 308; FremantleFG, p. 250 (fig. 502); Offner IV/IV, pp. 112–114 (pl. 25); Uffizi Cat, p. 303 (fig. 753)

185a-b. Musical angels, ca. 1380-1385

Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, Inv. nos. 6119 and 6120 (formerly in Hamburg, Wedells Collection), fragments of an altarpiece showing the Coronation of the Virgin (also in Liverpool)

On one panel (185a), two angels play lute and gittern. On the other panel (185b), two angels play portative organ and fiddle.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:85; BoskovitsPF, p. 311; Offner IV/IV, pp. 163–171 (pl. 36); ZeriPA, pp. 19f. (pl. 20)

186. Christ and the Virgin enthroned with angels, ca. 1360–1370

New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, no. 1871.19, central panel of a dispersed polyptych (side panels now in Vatican, Pinacoteca)

Four angels play two trumpets, fiddle, and shawm.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:86; BoskovitsPF, p. 312; Offner IV/IV, pp. 81–86 (pl. 19); Seymour Yale Cat, pp. 43–45 (pl. 26)





185 a.









### (Giovanni del Biondo)

- 187. Coronation of the Virgin with saints and Guglielmo Geri de Spinis, prior of Peretola as donor, dated 1372
  Formerly Richmond (Surrey), Cook Collection, central panel of a triptych
  Two angels play fiddle and lute.
  Photo: Sotheby, Parke, Bernet & Co.
  Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:86 (pl. 294); BoskovitsPF, p. 313; FremantleFG, p. 249 (fig. 500); Offner IV/IV, pp. 119–121 (pl. 27)
- 188. Coronation of the Virgin, ca. 1365–1370 S. Giovanni Valdarno, Basilica di S. Maria delle Grazie, central panel of a polyptych Five angels play fiddle, double recorder, lute (?), tambourine, and portative organ. Photo: Alinari 8909 Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:86; BoskovitsPF, p. 315; FremantleFG, p. 254 (fig. 512); van Marle, 3:520 (fig. 291); Offner IV/IV, pp. 136–139 (pl. 31); ZeriDP, pp. 127–130 (fig. 3)

### Giovanni del Biondo, school of

189. Virgin and Child Pisa, Museo nazionale di S. Matteo, no. 31, panel painting

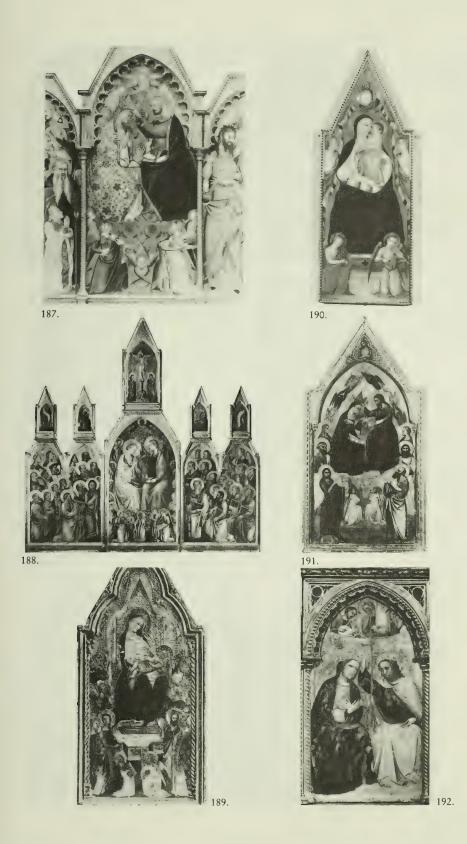
Two angels play psaltery and portative

organ.

Photo: Alinari 21363 Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:86

### Giovanni del Biondo, shop of

- 190. Virgin and Child with angels, ca. 1390–1395 Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland, no. 943, central panel of a dispersed polyptych Two angels play portative organ and fiddle. Photo: Museum Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:92; BoskovitsPF, p. 306; Dublin Cat, p. 11; Offner IV/IV, pp. 183–185 (pl. 41)
- 191. Coronation of the Virgin with saints and angels, ca. 1370–1375
  Formerly in Vienna, Lucas Gallery, central panel of a dispersed polyptych
  Two angels play portative organ and psaltery.
  Photo: Fototeca Berenson
  Bibl.: BerensonH, p. 116 (fig. 190); BoskovitsPF, p. 316; Offner IV/V, pp. 173f. (pl. 37)
- Giovanni del Biondo. See also Francesco, Nelli (Pietro), Master of the Bracciolini Chapel, and under paintings without attribution: formerly Collection of Sir Robert Abdy.
- Giovanni da Bologna (active between 1360 and 1390), Bolognese working in Venice
- 192. Coronation of the Virgin, before 1370
  Bologna, Pinacoteca nazionale, no. 17, central scene of a polyptych
  Three angels play lute, portative organ, and double recorder (or just possibly shawm).
  The lutenist may be singing.
  Photo: Soprintendenza
  Bibl.: BerensonV, 1:86; BolognaCS, 5:21
  (fig. 22); BolognaPN (1979), p. 7; Emiliani
  BolognaPN, pp. 162f. (fig. 55); Pallucchini
  PV, pp. 184f. (figs. 560 and 563)



### (Giovanni da Bologna)

193. Coronation of the Virgin, possibly as early as 1365–1370, signed »JOHES. PINTOR. DE BONOGNA«

Denver (Colorado), Art Museum, cat. no. 1961.155 (E-926)

Three angels play lute, portative organ, and fiddle

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonV, 1:87; PallucchiniPV, pp. 185f. (fig. 564); ShapleyPK, p. 10, no. 22

Giovanni Bonsi, or di Bonsi (active between 1351 and 1371). Florence

194. Virgin and Child with angels
Homeless (sold at the Finarte sale in Milan,
12/13 March 1963, lot 131)
Two angels play portative organ and harp.
Photo: Fototeca Berenson
Bibl.: Not listed in BoskovitsPF (see pp.
319–321); attribution from Fototeca Beren-

Giovanni da Milano (active 1346-1360), Florence

195. St. Anthony Abbot, ca. 1365
Williamstown (Massachusetts), Williams
College Museum of Art, no. 60.12 (Kress K.
199), wing of an altarpiece
A clapper bell is suspended from a cord from
the saint's left hand.
Photo: New York, Kress Collection
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:90; BoskovitsGM, pp.
15f. (fig. 27); dell'AcquaAL, no. 62; MarabottiniGM, p. 90

Giovanni da Milano. See also Master of the Rinuccini Chapel, Niccolò di Tommaso, and Orcagna.

Giovanni di Marco dal Ponte (1385-ca. 1437), Florence

196. Virgin and Child enthroned with eight angels, before 1425
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, no. 551, panel painting
Two angels play portative organ and lute.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: Berenson, 1:90; CambridgeFM Cat, 2:68–69; FremantleFG, p. 357 (fig. 728); van Marle, 9:71–72; Offner III/II/2, p. 193 (attributed to Jacopo del Casentino); ShellTT,

figs. 1 and 4

197. Coronation of the Virgin, 1410–1420 Chantilly, Musée Condé, no. 3, central panel of a triptych Four angels play portative organ, fiddle, lute, and harp. Photo: Photo Giraudon 26 566 Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:90 (pl. 483); BrownTH, pp. 47–49 (pl. 7); FremantleFG, p. 361 (fig. 739); GuidiNC, pp. 30f. (pl. 25); van Marle, 9:72–74 (fig. 43)

198. Coronation of the Virgin
Florence, Accademia, Inv. no. 458 (P 754),
central panel of a triptych
Four angels play portative organ, psaltery,
lute, and harp.
Photo: BerensonF
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:91 (pl. 484); BrownTH,
pp. 47–49 (pl. 8); FremantleFG, p. 361 (fig.
740); van Marle, 9:75 (fig. 46); Uffizi Cat, p.
303, no. P754



# (Giovanni di Marco dal Ponte)

- 199. San Bartolomeo and two angels
  Florence, S. Trinità, Cappella di San Bartolomeo (Scali Chapel), fresco
  Two angels play lute (?) and harp.
  Photo: GuidiNC
  Bibl.: GuidiNC, p. 29 (pl. 24); van Marle,
  9:76–77
- 200. The Liberal Arts, ca. 1435
  Madrid, Prado, no. 2844, Cassone panel
  Lady Music plays a portative organ, and
  Tubalcain hammers on an anvil.
  Photo: Museum
  Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:91 (pl. 487); FremantleFG, p. 366 (fig. 751); Madrid Prado Cat,
  pp. 506f.; van Marle, 9:84
- 201. Garden of Love, ca. 1430

  New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery,
  Inv. no. 1943.217, bequest of Maitland F.
  Griggs, Cassone panel
  A couple dance to a lute and a harp.
  Photo: Museum
  Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:91, van Marle, 9:84;
  Seymour Yale Cat, pp. 152–154, no. 106;
  WatsonGL, pp. 64–66 (pl. 55)

- 202. Virgin and Child with angels, after 1430
  San Francisco, M. H. de Young Memorial
  Museum, gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, 61.44.5, panel painting
  Two angels play lute and psaltery.
  Photo: Museum
  Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:92 (pl. 491); BrownTP,
  pl. 8; HessI, no. 69; San Francisco Young
  Cat, p. 37 (ill.); ShapleyPK, p. 92 (pl. 249);
  ShellTT, figs. 2 and 6
- 203. Virgin and Child
  Homeless, panel painting
  On the frame: four angels play tambourine,
  lute, psaltery, and an unclear instrument.
  Photo: BerensonF
  Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:96 (pl. 488)
- Giovanni di Marco dal Ponte. See also Lorenzo Monaco.
- Giovanni da Rimini (documented in the last decade of the 13th and the first two decades of the 14th centuries), Rimini

204. Presentation in the Temple, first decade of the

14th century

Rimini, Sant'Agostino, Cappella del Campanile, fresco (now destroyed)

The statue of an angel on a balustrade of the temple plays a trumpet.

Photo: VolpePR (detail of the musical angel only)

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:359 (attributed to Riminese trecento); VolpePR, pp. 12–18 and 72 (figs. 50 and 51; see there for previous attributions)













### (Giovanni da Rimini)

205. The Last Judgment

Rome, Galleria nazionale, lower right corner of the leaf of a diptych showing scenes from the life of Christ (the companion leaf is in the collection of the Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle)

Two angels play trumpets.

Photo: VolpePR

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:363; van Marle, 4:279 (fig. 136; attributed to Cavallinesque Riminese school); VolpePR, pp. 12–18 and 71 (fig. 27; see there for previous attributions)

- Giuliano di Simone da Lucca (active from the 1370s to the 1390s), Pisa and Lucca
- 206. Virgin and Child with saints, angels, and Eve Paris, Louvre, Inv. no. M.I.407 (formerly 1621), panel painting

Four angels play gittern, fiddle (or rebec?),

lute, and harp.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:196 (pl. 381); BoskovitsPF, pp. 247f. (fig. 528); FremantleFG, p. 309 (fig. 633; attributed to Master of the Straus Madonna); OffnerSuppl, p. 58; Paris Louvre Cat, p. 182 (ill.)

- Giuliano di Simone da Lucca. See also under paintings without attribution: Pisa, Museo civico.
- Giusto de'Menabuoi (active by 1363/64, died 1387/1391), Florentine who worked in Padua
- 207. Coronation of the Virgin, dated 1367 and signed »[Ju]stus pinxit in mediol.«

London, National Gallery, no. 701, panel of

Two angels play lute and gittern (or possibly a second lute).

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:198; BettiniGM, pp. 53–57 (fig. 31); Crowe/Cavalcaselle, 3:240; LondonNG Cat, pp. 251–253; van Marle, 4:164–166 (fig. 82); PallucchiniPV, pp. 124f. (fig. 392); Toesca, p. 644

208. God in Majesty, ca. 1376–1378
Padua, Baptistery, vault, fresco

In the second circle around God, angels play trapezoidal psaltery, drum, tambourine, hurdy gurdy, bagpipe, shawm, rebec (?), lute or gittern, fiddle, harp, two trapezoidal psalteries, citole (?), harp-psaltery, pipe and tabor, nakers, portative organ, gittern, lute, rebec (?), fiddle, harp, shawm or trumpet, double recorder, harp-psaltery, and incurved trapezoidal psaltery. – Around the mandorla surrounding the Virgin Mary, angels play, on the left: trapezoidal psaltery, portative organ, fiddle, and portative organ, and on the right: gittern, lute, rebec (?), and portative organ.

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:198; BettiniGM, pp. 77–85 (fig. 72); BettiniPG, passim, pls. 1 and 2 (color); ColettiP, 3:lviii-lx (fig. 114); Crowe/Cavalcaselle, 3:241-243; van Marle, 4:166-171 (fig. 85); PallucchiniPV, pp. 125–127 (fig. 393); Toesca, p. 794.

209. Herod's Feast, ca. 1376-1378

Photo: Alinari 19481

Padua, Baptistery, north wall, lower left panel of a fresco showing scenes from the lives of Christ and St. John the Baptist Salome dances, while two men play portative organ and lute, and a third man plays an unidentified instrument or sings.

Photo: Alinari 19487

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:198; BettiniGM, pp. 77–85 (fig. 84); BettiniPG, passim (fig. 4); Crowe/Cavalcaselle, 3:241–243; van Marle, 4:166–171; PallucchiniPV, pp. 125–127

210. Scenes from the Apocalypse, ca. 1376–1378 Padua, Baptistery, apse, fresco

In the upper register, around the apse, six panels show the calls of the first to sixth trumpets of the Apocalypse. In each case, an angel plays a trumpet.

Photo: BettiniGM (showing three of the six

trumpets)

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:199 (pls. 229 and 230); BettiniGM, pp. 77–85 (fig. 111); BettiniPG, passim; Crowe/Cavalcaselle, 3:241–243; van Marle, 4:166–171

















## (Giusto de'Menabuoi)

211. Apocalyptic Scenes, ca. 1376–1378
Padua, Baptistery, apse, fresco
One man on horseback plays a trumpet.
Photo: BettiniGM
Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:199; BettiniGM,
pp. 77–85 (fig. 119); BettiniPG, passim;
Crowe/Cavalcaselle, 3:241–243; van Marle,
4:166–171

212. Herod's Feast, ca. 1376–1378

Padua, Baptistery, high altar, side panel of a polyptych showing the Virgin and Child as the central panel

Salome dances. On the right, a man accom-

panies her on the harp.

Photo: BettiniPG Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:199–200; BettiniGM, pp. 77–85; BettiniPG, passim (fig. 8 and, in color, pl. 45); Crowe/Cavalcaselle, 3:241– 243; van Marle, 4:166–171; PallucchiniPV, pp. 125–127 (fig. 401) 213a-b. Scenes from the Apocalypse

Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie, Inv. nos. 3082 and 3100, two panels framed together (formerly in Schloss Fürstenau, Erbach von Fürstenau Collection)

In one scene (213a), seven angels play trumpets. In another scene (213b, top left), the Lamb is adored by six angels playing shawm (?), gittern (?), double recorder, cymbals, lute, and fiddle. In a third scene (213b, lower right), three angels play horn, and two triple trumpets. Various other angels play horns or trumpets.

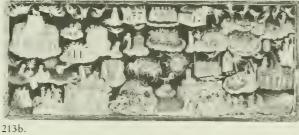
Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BettiniGM, p. 142 (figs. 167–170); ColettiP, 3:lx (figs. 116 and 117); dell'AcquaAL, pl. 17; LonghiFM, p. 180 (attributed to Giusto; the work had previously been considered Neapolitan or Sienese); PallucchiniPV, pp. 128f. (figs. 405 and 406); Toesca, p. 830





213a.



1. 2



# (Giusto de'Menabuoi)

214. Deisi (Last Judgment), ca. 1363–1365 Viboldone, Chiesa dell'abbazia degli Umiliati, fresco

Below the figure of Christ, two angels play trumpets.

Photo: BettiniGM

Bibl.: BettiniGM, pp. 45–57 (fig. 12); PallucchiniPV, p. 124; Toesca, pp. 761f.

- Giusto de'Menabuoi. See also under manuscripts: Rome, Galleria nazionale, Gabinetto delle stampe.
- Gregorio di Cecco di Lucca (active from 1389 to 1423), Siena
- 215. Virgin and Child with angels, dated 1423 Siena, Opera del Duomo, no. 49, panel painting

Six angels play psaltery, lute, nakers, harp,

fiddle, and shawm or recorder.

Photo: Foto Grassi, Siena

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:210 (pl. 480); BrandiQS, pl. 40; van Marle, 2:570-572 (fig. 360)

- Gregorio di Cecco di Lucca, or his stepfather, Taddeo di Bartolo (ca. 1363-1422), Siena
- 216. Virgin and Child with angels

Formerly in the collection of Lt. Col. G. T. M. Scrope (sold at Sothebys, London, 8 December 1971, as item no. 36), central panel of a triptych

Four angels play portative organ, harp, lute,

and fiddle.

Photo: Sotheby, Parke, Bernet & Co.

Bibl.: none

- Gualtieri di Giovanni da Pisa (born ca. 1375/ 1380, active from 1389 to 1445), Pisan in Siena
- 217. Assumption of the Virgin, ca. 1400
  Berlin–Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Inv. no. 1089 (Depot), panel painting
  On the left, angels play double recorder, cymbals, harp, lute, nakers, and pipe and tabor. On the right, angels play recorder, fiddle, psaltery, portative organ, nakers, and shawm. In Heaven, upper left, King David plays a psaltery. Some angels sing. Photo: Jörg P. Anders, Berlin Bibl.: BrandiQS, pp. 29–35 (pl. 32; as in Munich); MalloryF, p. 184
- 218. Wedding of the Virgin, dated 1411
  Siena, Cathedral (Sacristy, middle chapel),
  damaged fresco

On the lower right, three men play trumpets (or two trumpets and shawm). Below them, two men play psaltery and fiddle, and a third

man sings.

Photo: Foto Grassi, Siena

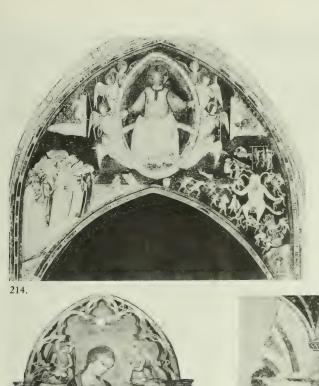
Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:202 (pl. 488); BrandiQS, p. 35 (pl. 27); BrownTP, pl. 12; CarliPPT, 2:100-101

219. Assumption of the Virgin, ca. 1410
Siena, S. Maria del Carmine, damaged fresco
On the left, angels play portative organ,
double recorder, harp, fiddle, nakers, pipe
and tabor, and two trumpets. On the right,
angels play cymbals, shawm or recorder,
lute, keyed fiddle (?) or plucked rebec,
tambourine, and two trumpets. The fresco is
too badly damaged to identify some of the
instruments securely, and there may originally have been two or three additional instruments. Some angels sing.

Photo: Alinari 36889

Bibl.: BeenkenU, p. 77; BerensonCN, 1: 202; BerensonH, p. 35 (pl. 38); BrandiQS, p. 35 (pl. 28); MalloryF, pp. 183f. (pl. 89)

Gualtieri di Giovanni da Pisa. See also under paintings without attribution: Osimo, Convento di S. Niccolo.













Guariento di Arpo (born ca. 1310, active from 1338, died by 1370), Padua

220. Ordination of St. Augustine, 1338

Padua, Chiesa degli Eremitani, scene from a fresco cycle

On the right, three men and a boy appear to be singing from a choirbook.

Photo: CourcelleISA

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:204; CourcelleISA, pp. 49–51 (pl. XLVI–B)

221. Last Judgment, ca. 1360–1365, restored in 1589, destroyed in 1944

Padua, Chiesa degli Eremitani, fresco

Two angels play trumpets.

Photo: d'ArcaisG

Bibl.: d'ArcaisG, pp. 28–34 and 61–63 (fig. 88); BerensonCN, 1:204 (pl. 248); van Marle, 4:115 (pl. 56); PallucchiniPV, pp. 113–116 (fig. 356)

222. Coronation of the Virgin, dated 1344
Pasadena, Norton Simon Museum (formerly Vienna, Czernin Collection), central panel of a polyptych, inscribed »MCCCCXXXXIIII TEMPORE NRI... ARCHIP (?) AL-

Above the central figures, two angels play gittern and lute. Below the central figures, two angels play portative organ and trapezoidal psaltery. – In a side panel, two angels play trumpets at the Last Judgment (not shown in the accompanying photograph).

Photo: Museum

BERTI«

Bibl.: d'ArcaisG, pp. 15–20 and 74–76 (figs. 6 and 7); BerensonCN, 1:205; PallucchiniPV, pp. 107f. (fig. 315); Pasadena SimonSP, pp. 18f. (ill. in color); Toesca, pp. 714–716 (fig. 605)

223. Coronation of the Virgin, ca. 1365–1368, with inscription: »MARCUS CORNARIUS DUX ET MILES FECIT FIERI HOC OPUS« (for other inscriptions, see d'ArcaisG, pp. 72–74)

Venice, Palazzo ducale, fresco (in bad condi-

Seven angels play psaltery, fiddle, psaltery, portative organ, portative organ (?), tambourine, and lute.

Photo: Osvaldo Böhm

Bibl.: d'ArcaisG, pp. 36–38 and 72–74 (figs. 131–133 and 137); BerensonCN, 1:204; Crowe/Cavalcaselle, 3:244; van Marle, 4:116–117; Padova Cat GM, pp. 49f. (fig. 46); PallucchiniPV, pp. 116–119 (figs. 357–359); Sax1HI, pp. 43–56 (figs. 54 and 63–69); Toesca, p. 716; see also no. 227 below (Jacobello del Fiore)

Guido da Siena (flourished second half of the 13th century), Siena, follower of

224. Last Judgment, ca. 1280

Grosseto, Museo diocesano d'arte sacra, top half of polyptych

Four angels play trumpets.

Photo: Alinari 43374

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:205; Florence Uffizi Cat DT, no. 29; Florence Uffizi Cat MG, no. 27; GarrisonIRP, p. 72, no. 159; van Marle, 1:373; Offner III/V, p. 252, no. 16, p. 157, nos. 16 and 18; StubblebineGS, pp. 87–89 (no. XVI, figs. 49 and 113; attributed to Saint Peter Master, a follower of Guido)

Guido da Siena. See under paintings without attribution: Siena, Pinacoteca nazionale.

Ilario da Viterbo (active in 1393), Viterbo

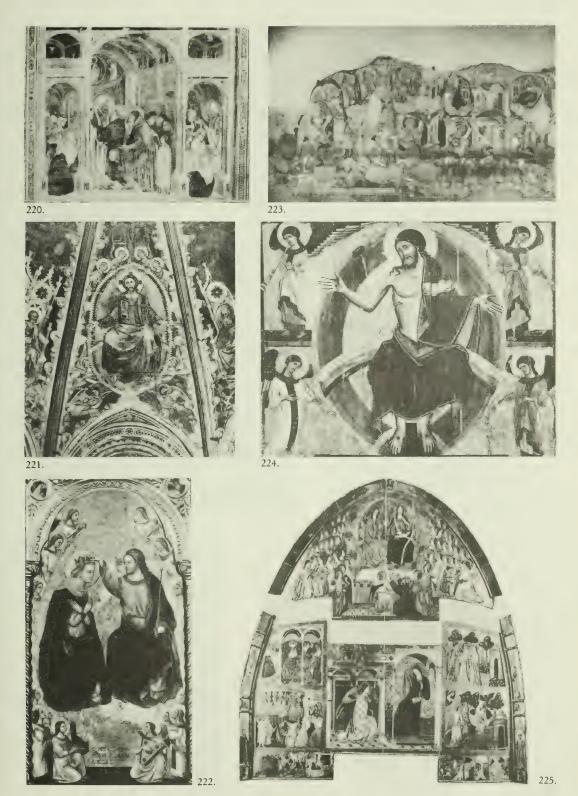
225. St. Francis offers flowers to Christ and the Virgin Mary, dated 1393, with inscription »ISTAM TABULAM FECIT FIERI FRATER FRANCISCUS DE SCO GEMINO DE HELEMOSYNIS PROCURATIS A. DNI MCCCLXXXXIII INCEPTA DE MENSE AUGUSTI COMPLETA DE MENSE NOVEMBRIS IN ISTIS PARTIBUS DURANTE GUERRA ET CARISTIA PREBYTER YLARIUS DE VITERBIO PIX.«

Assisi, S. Maria degli Angeli, Pala della Cappella della Porziuncola, top panel of a fresco

Five angels on the left play: two trumpets, fiddle, lute, and double recorder; and five angels on the right play: two trumpets, nakers, shawm, and bagpipe.

Photo: FaldiPV

Bibl.: della PortaIMU, no. 23, pp. 83 f. (pl. 23); FaldiPV, p. 12 (fig. 34); FrancescoSA, no. 10.7, p. 167 (ill. in color)



# Jacobello di Bonomo (flourished ca. 1378–1385), Venice, shop of

226. Coronation of the Virgin

Fermo, S. Michele Arcangelo, central panel of a polyptych

Three angels above the central figures play tambourine, lute, and trumpet (?).

Photo: PallucchiniPV

Bibl.: BerensonV, 1:94; van Marle, 1:87–88 (fig. 43); PallucchiniPV, p. 206 (fig. 634)

# Jacobello di Bonomo. See also Lorenzo Veneziano.

Jacobello del Fiore (documented from 1394, died 1439), Venice

227. Paradise (Coronation of the Virgin), 1430 Venice, Accademia, Inv. no. 693, Cat. no. 1, panel painting

Below the throne, seven angels play psaltery, lute, psaltery, portative organ, fanciful harp, tambourine, and gittern (or lute).

Photo: Alinari 13807

Bibl.: BerensonV, 1:94; BolognaCS, 6:13–14 (fig. 9); HammersteinME, fig. 69; Symeonides Venice Cat, pp. 54–56 (fig. 16); Venice Accademia Cat, pp. 30f., no. 28 (figs. 28a–b); see also no. 223 above (Guariento), of which this is a copy

# Jacopino di Francesco dei Bavosi (active 1350–1380), Bologna

228. The Dormition of the Virgin and the Coronation of the Virgin
Bologna, Pinacoteca nazionale (from the Chiesa Santa Maria Nuova), Inv. no. 217, Cat. no. 159, central panel of a polyptych Seven angels on the left play: curved horn, trumpet, lute, double recorder, gittern, psaltery, and fiddle; six angels on the right play: horn or trumpet, fiddle, two lutes, psaltery, and shawm or trumpet.

Photo: Soprintendenza

Bibl.: BolognaPN (1979), p. 78; Emiliani BolognaPN, no. 44, p. 145 (ill.); Crowe/Cavalcaselle, 3:199 (attributed to Jacopo Avanzi); LonghiMTB, pp. 13–15; van Marle, 4:422 (attributed to pseudo-Jacopo Avanzi); Toesca, p. 742

229. Coronation of the Virgin Bologna, Pinacoteca nazionale, no. 744 Two angels play fiddle and gittern.

Photo: Soprintendenza

Bibl.: BolognaPN (1979), p. 78; ColettiP, 3:xx-xxiii (fig. 39; attributed to Cugino dei Romagnoli); Emiliani BolognaPN, no. 46, p. 147b (ill.); LonghiMTB, pp. 13–15

# Jacopo [Landini] del Casentino (ca. 1279–1348 or 1358), Florence

230. Last Judgment
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Inv. no.
37.722A, left shutter of a triptych
Two angels play trumpets.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: Offner III/VII, pp. 105-107 and 110-114 (pl. 37); Zeri Baltimore Cat, pp. 10f. (pl. 3)

231. Virgin and Child with saints and angels Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, no. 1091, panel painting

Two angels play portative organ and psaltery.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:100; Berlin Cat, p. 214; FremantleFG, p. 121 (fig. 243); Offner III/II/2, pp. 124f. (pl. 51); OffnerSF, p. 27; see also no. 232









### (Iacopo del Casentino)

232. Virgin and Child with saints and angels Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, no. 1096 (formerly on loan to the Provinzial Museum, Bonn), panel painting

Two angels play portative organ and psalterv.

Photo: Museum

no. 231

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:101; FremantleFG, p. 120 (fig. 239); Offner III/II/2, pp. 122f. (pl. 50), and III/VII, pp. 119f. (pl. 40); see also

233. Coronation of the Virgin with saints and Bern, Kunstmuseum, Inv. no. 872, central

panel of a triptych

Six angels in front of the throne play two shawms, two fiddles, and two trumpets.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:101; Offner III/VII, pp. 126 f. (pl. 42)

234. Last Judgment

Bremen, Kunsthalle, Inv. no. 292 (1930.10), left panel of a triptych

Two angels play trumpets.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:101; FremantleFG, p. 121 (fig. 241); Offner III/VII, pp. 102-104 (pl. 36)

235. Virgin and Child with saints and angels, dated 1345

> Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts (Szépművészeti Múzeum), Inv. no. 6006, probably originally one panel of a diptych

> Four angels play two fiddles, baggine, and portative organ.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:101; BoskovitsEIP, pl. 10; FremantleFG, p. 121 (fig. 242); Offner III/II/2, pp. 90 and 267

236. St. Bartholomew enthroned with angels, ca.

Florence, Accademia, no. 440, panel painting Two angels play fiddles.

Photo: Alinari 987

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:101; BernardiSM, pl. 1; FremantleFG, p. 123 (fig. 249); van Marle, 3:298 (fig. 174); Offner III/II/2, pp. 114f. (pl. 46); OffnerSF, pp. 29f. (fig. 6); SirénG, 1:191 (pl. 171)

### Jacopo del Casentino, shop of, or some provincial artist

237. Coronation of the Virgin, ca. 1340 New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, Gift of the Associates in Fine Arts, 27

November 1939, Inv. no. 1939.557, panel painting

Eight angels play four trumpets, two double recorders, and two fiddles.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:102; Offner III/II/2, p. 170 (pl. 72, as in New York, Maitland F. Griggs Collection); OffnerSF, p. 31; Seymour Yale Cat, no. 28, pp. 46f. (ill.)

Jacopo del Casentino. See also Giovanni di Marco dal Ponte and Master of the Arte della Lana Coronation.



- Jacopo di Cione (active from 1365 to ca. 1398, died 1400), Florence
- 238. Virgin and Child with angels, ca. 1370–1375
  Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts (Szépművészeti Múzeum), Inv. no. 2540, panel painting
  Two angels play portative organ and fiddle.
  Photo: Museum
  Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:103 (pl. 224); BoskovitsEIP, no. 23 (ill.); BoskovitsPF, p. 322 (pl. 49; see there for previous attributions); van
  Marle, 3:468 (fig. 262; attributed to Andrea
  Orcagna); Offner IV/III, pp. 123f. (pl. 12;
  attributed to circle of Jacopo); SirénG, 1:220
  (pl. 186; attributed to workshop of Jacopo)
- 239. Virgin and Child with saints and angels, 1365–1370
  Florence, Museo Bardini, Corsi Collection, Room II, no. 62, panel painting
  Two angels play fiddle and bagpipe.
  Photo: Florence, Soprintendenza
  Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 324 (fig. 103)

- 240. Virgin and Child with angels, 1390–1395
  Florence, Museo Stibbert, no. 3891, panel painting
  Two angels play fiddle and psaltery.
  Photo: private source
  Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:104; BoskovitsPF, p. 324
- 1355–1360
  Florence, Villa I Tatti, panel painting
  Four angels play bagpipe, shawm, portative
  organ, and fiddle.
  Photo: Fototeca Berenson
  Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:104; BoskovitsPF, p.

241. Virgin and Child with saints and angels,

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:104; BoskovitsPF, p. 278 (fig. 50; attributed to Andrea [Bonaiuti] da Firenze); RussoliRB, p. x









### (Jacopo di Cione)

242. Coronation of the Virgin, documented 1370/

London, National Gallery, no. 569, central panel of a polyptych (see nos. 243–245) Six angels play portative organ, harp, gittern,

fiddle, psaltery, and bagpipe.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:105 (pl. 230); BoskovitsPF, p. 326 (pl. 45); FremantleFG, p. 163 (fig. 316); LondonNG Cat, pp. 389–396 (attributed to school of Orcagna); van Marle, 3:493–497 (fig. 277); Offner IV/III, pp. 31–47 (pl. 3); SirénG, 1:260 (pl. 220)

243a-b. Holy Trinity and angels, documented

London, National Gallery, nos. 571 and 572, left and right panels of a triptych (central scene: the Trinity), which was part of a polyptych (see nos. 242, 244, and 245)

In the left panel (243a), two angels play lute and portative organ; in the right panel (243b), two angels play double recorder and fiddle.

Photo: Museum (detail of left panel; whole right panel)

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:105; BoskovitsPF, p. 326; FremantleFG, p. 167 (figs. 326, 329, and 330); LondonNG Cat, pp. 389–396 (attributed to school of Orcagna); van Marle, 3:493–497 (fig. 278); Offner IV/III, pp. 31–47 (pl. 3)

244. The Nativity, documented 1370/71
London, National Gallery, no. 573, panel in a polyptych (see nos. 242, 243, and 245)
Two angels play lute and portative organ.
One other angel may play an instrument.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:105; BoskovitsPF, p. 326; ColettiP, 2:lv (pl. 115a); FremantleFG, p. 167 (fig. 328); LondonNG Cat, pp. 389–396 (attributed to school of Orcagna); van Marle, 3:493–497; Offner IV/III, pp. 31–47 (pl. 3)

245. Ascension, documented 1370/71
London, National Gallery, no. 577, panel of a polyptych (see nos. 242–244)
Four angels play portative organ, lute, fiddle, and psaltery.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:105; BoskovitsPF, p. 326; FremantleFG, p. 166 (fig. 325); LondonNG Cat, pp. 389–396 (attributed to school of Orcagna); van Marle, 3:493–497 (fig. 279); Offner IV/III, pp. 31–47 (pl. 3)

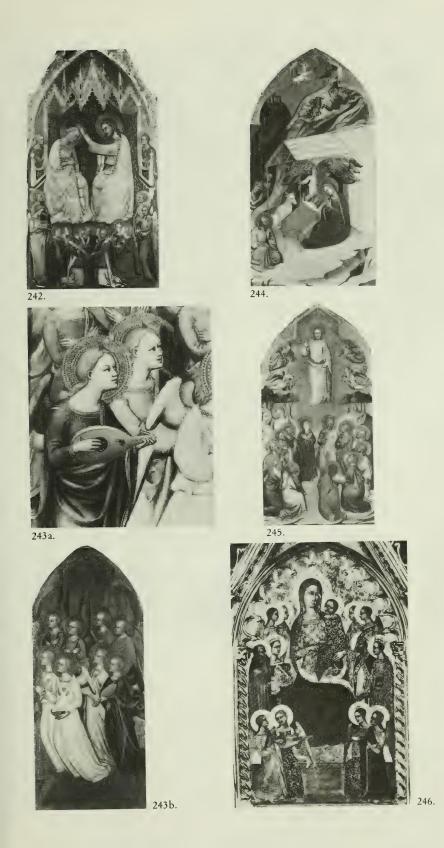
246. Virgin and Child with saints and angels, 1365–1370

Formerly Milan, Galleria Levi (and Livorno, Larderel Collection), central panel of a dispersed triptych

Two angels play lute and psaltery.

Photo: BoskovitsPF

Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 327 (fig. 101); CinottiM, pp. 13–15 (ill.; as Maestro di Calenzano); OffnerSuppl, p. 89 (fig. 170; as Niccolò di Tommaso)



# (Jacopo di Cione)

247. Virgin and Child with saints and angels, 1380-1385

Prague, Národní Galerie, Inv. no. 0-11-887 (formerly DO-796), panel painting

Two angels play psaltery and shawm.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:138 (attributed to Master of Arte della Lana Coronation); BoskovitsPF, p. 329 (fig. 109); OffnerSuppl, p. 50 (attributed to Master of Prato Annunciation); PujmanovaIT, no. 11

248. St. Peter enthroned at Antioch, with St. Paul and others, documented 1370/71

Vatican, Pinacoteca, no. 107, predella panel from a dispersed polyptych (probably nos. 242–245 above)

Four men play trumpets.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:106; BoskovitsPF, p. 329; Offner IV/III, pp. 58f. (pl. 3/28)

249. Virgin and Child with angels, dated 1379
Formerly Vienna, Fischel Collection (and Budapest, Newes Collection, and Genova, Garibaldi Collection), central panel of a triptych
Two angels play fiddle and psaltery.
Photo: Fototeca Berenson
Bibl: BoskovitsPF, p. 330 (pl. 53; with a

Photo: Fototeca Berenson Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 330 (pl. 53; with a summary of previous attributions); Offner-Suppl, p. 50 (fig. 111; attributed to Master of Prato Annunciation)

250. Virgin and Child with saints and angels
Homeless panel painting
Two angels play psaltery and fiddle.
Photo: Fototeca Berenson
Bibl: none

251. Number deleted









### Jacopo di Cione, follower of

252. Coronation of the Virgin
Florence, Accademia, no. 8579 (from the Convent of St. Matthew in Arcetri)
Above the central figures, two angels play rebec (?) and shawm. Below the central figures, two angels play trumpets.
Photo: Florence, Soprintendenza
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:104; Procacci Accademia Cat. p. 24

# Jacopo di Cione, shop of

253. Coronation of the Virgin with saints and angels, ca. 1375

New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, Gift of Hannah D. and Louis M. Rabinowitz, Inv. no. 1959.15.2

Two angels play fiddle and psaltery.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 412 (attributed to Niccolò di Pietro Gerini and dated 1385–1390, with a summary of previous attributions); Seymour Yale Cat, p. 49 (no. 31)

Jacopo di Cione. See also Daddi, Gerini (Niccolò di Pietro), Lorenzo Monaco, Master of the Prato Annunciation, Master of Rohoncz Castle, Master of the Virgin of Mercy, Orcagna, Puccio di Simone, and paintings without attribution in: Cortona, Accademia Etrusca, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, Geneva, Musée d'art et d'histoire, and New York, Metropolitan Museum.

Jacopo di Paolo da Bologna (flourished 1390-1426), Bologna

254. Shepherds at the Nativity
Bologna, S. Petronio, predella panel of the
Bolognini triptych
One shepherd holds a bagpipe.

Photo: ArslanIP

Bibl.: ArslanJP, pp. 217–222 (pl. 4); BolognaPN Cat MPB, p. 34, no. 104 (pl. 12)

255. Story of Joseph (son of Jacob and Rachel):
The Pharaoh gives Joseph his ring in thanks for services rendered (Genesis 41:1–45)
Bologna, Pinacoteca nazionale (formerly in Bologna, Chiesa di Sant'Apollonia di Mezzaratta), panel of a detached fresco On the right, two men play trumpets.
Photo: Frick 06056
Bibl.: Emiliani BolognaPM, pp. 119–126 (pl.

# Jacopo da Verona. See Altichiero da Zevio.

Lippo di Dalmasio (flourished 1377-1410), Pistoia and Bologna

256. Virgin and Child with saints and angels, said to have been dated 1407, but probably ca. 1389

Pistoia, Museo civico, Inv. no. 1975, p. 1, no. 15, detached fresco

Two angels play fiddle and lute.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:215 (pl. 286); BoskovitsPF, pp. 151f. (and catalogue of works on p. 252; fig. 557); van Marle, 4:463; Pistoia Cat MC, pp. 33f. (ill.)

# Ambrogio Lorenzetti (active 1319-1348), Siena

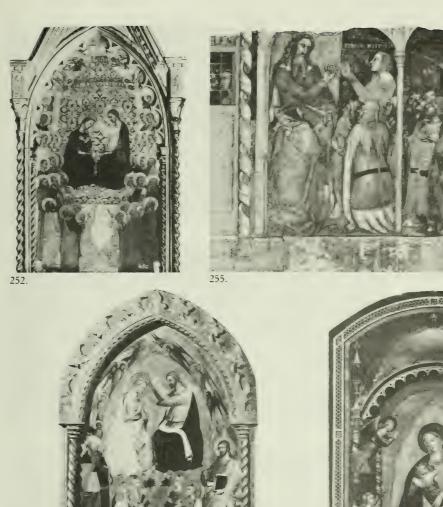
257. Virgin and Child with saints and angels (Maestà), ca. 1335

Massa Marittima, Municipio

Four angels play fiddle, psaltery, lute, and fiddle.

Photo: Alinari 21835

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:216 (pl. 94); CarliC, pp. 36f. (pls. 75, 81–84); CarliPS, p. 182 (fig. 213); LorenzettiSP, pl. 61; van Marle, 2:413–416 (fig. 277); MostraSG, pp. 60–66 (figs. 48 and 49); RowleyAL, 1:57–69 (pl. V in color; and 2:figs. 23, 61, and 63–66); WeigeltSP, pp. 50f. (pl. 104)









## (Ambrogio Lorenzetti)

258. Allegory of Good Government, 1338-1340. Siena, Palazzo pubblico, Sala della Pace,

The fresco depicts good government in a city; in one part of the fresco, nine maidens dance (seven hold hands in a curved line and go under the arched arms of the other two). A tenth maiden plays the tambourine and sings. - Below the principal scene were once representatives of the liberal arts, including Lady Music, now virtually invisible. - In the background of the accompanying fresco, an allegory of bad government, a group of marauding cavalry can be seen in the countryside, with one mounted soldier playing a trumpet (see RowlevAL, 2: fig. 235). Photo: Foto Grassi, Siena (detail with danc-

ers) Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:217 (pls. 97 and 98); BrownFB, pp. 324-339 (ills. on pp. 330 and 335); CarliL, pls. 20, 21, 23, and 24; CarliPS, p. 198 (figs. 229 and 231); CarliPSS, p. 97 (pl.

28); CarliSP, pp. 44-46 (pls. 72 and 78); ColettiP, 2:xx-xxi (pl. 36); LorenzettiSP, pp. 35-37 (ill. in color); van Marle, 2:398-413 (figs. 269 and 270); Rowley AL, 1:99-122 (pl. VII in color; and 2:figs. 157, 207, and

217-218); WeigeltSP, p. 53 (pl. 100)

259. Allegory of Redemption

Siena, Pinacoteca nazionale, no. 92, probably the central panel of a predella or a cassone On the right, four angels play trumpets at the Last Judgment.

Photo: Foto Grassi, Siena

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:220 (pl. 91; attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti); DeWaldPL, pp. [31]-[32] (fig. 93); TorritiPNS, pp. 116-118 (fig. 117)

### Ambrogio Lorenzetti. See also Orcagna.

### Ambrogio Lorenzetti, follower of

260. The government of Siena, 1364 Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. no. 50.5 (formerly in Cologne, Ramboux Collection), Biccherna panel (book cover) Four men play trumpets. Photo: Museum Bibl.: CarliTB, p. 122; CoorTG, p. 120 (fig. 96)

## Pietro Lorenzetti (active 1305-1348), Siena

261. Christ enters Ierusalem

Assisi, S. Francesco, Lower Church, fresco in left transept

Among the crowd greeting Christ, two boys sing.

Photo: Alinari 5325

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:218; CecchiPL, pp. 23-25 (pl. 60); LadisTG, p. 25 (fig. 9)

262. The Blessed Humility cures a sick nun (not illustrated); the Miracle of the ice in August Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Inv. nos. 1077 and 1077A, panels from the altarpiece of the Blessed Humility

In the background of both panels, a bell hangs suspended in a tower.

Photo: Museum (Miracle of the ice only)

Bibl.: Berlin Cat, pp. 239f.

263. Herod's Feast

Siena, S. Maria dei Servi, fresco Salome dances. She is accompanied by a man playing a fiddle.

Photo: Foto Grassi, Siena

Bibl.; AntalFP, pp. 178-180 (pl. 21B); BenedictisPS, p. 83 (attributed to Francesco di Segna, Niccolò di Segna, and Pietro Lorenzetti); BerensonCN, 1:221; CarliL, pl. 7 in color; CecchiPL, pp. 27f. (pl. 77); De-WaldPL, pp. [32]-[33] (fig. 96); van Marle, 2:337-341 (fig. 225); WeigeltSP, p. 38 (pl. 79)

Pietro Lorenzetti. See also Lorenzetti (Ambrogio).











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263.

Lorenzo di Bicci (flourished from ca. 1370, died 1427), Florence

264. Wedding of St. Cecilia and St. Valerian
Florence, S. Maria del Carmine, Sacristy,
fresco
On the left of the banqueting table, a musician plays a portative organ.
Photo: Alinari 3870
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:29 (attributed to Bicci di Lorenzo); FremantleFG, pp. 414f.; MirimondeSC, p. 15 (pl. 1)

265. Virgin and Child with angels Pescia, S. Stefano e Nicolao, panel painting Four angels play fiddle, gittern, lute, and psaltery. Photo: Florence, Soprintendenza Bibl.: FremantleFG, p. 412 (fig. 842); SalmiS, pp. 210f. (fig. 2; attributed to school of Orcagna)

266. Virgin and Child with saints and angels, 1375–1380

Rome, Museo di Palazzo Venezia, no. PV 10210, panel painting

Two angels play fiddle and psaltery. Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 336 (fig. 130); Offner-Suppl, p. 42

267. Virgin and Child with angels, 1405–1410
San Francisco, M.H. de Young Memorial
Museum, no. 46.3, panel painting
Two angels play fiddles.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 336 (with survey of
previous attributions): San Francisco Young

Lorenzo Monaco (ca. 1370-ca. 1425), Florence

Cat. p. 21 (ill.)

1414 (1413 n. s.)

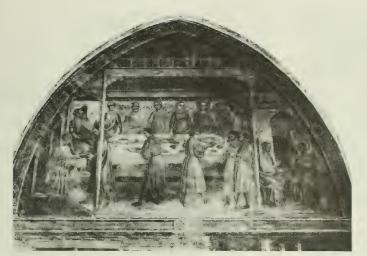
268. Adoration of the Magi, 1420–1425
Florence, Uffizi, no. 466, panel painting
In the lower right corner, a man wears a curved hunting horn.
Photo: Alinari 796
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:118 (pl. 460); BoskovitsPF, p. 344; FremantleFG, p. 380 (fig. 777); SirénLM, pp. 104–106 (pl. 42)

269. Coronation of the Virgin, signed and dated

Florence, Uffizi, no. 885, central panel of a

triptych from Florence, S. Maria degli Angeli In front of the central figures, an angel plays a positive organ (now almost illegible). Other angels may sing. Photo: Alinari (Anderson 8340) Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:118 (pl. 448); BoskovitsPF, p. 344; FremantleFG, p. 376 (fig.

767); SirénLM, pp. 76-78 (pl. 28)





264.



265.



268.



266.



269

## (Lorenzo Monaco)

270. Coronation of the Virgin, 1390–1395
London, Courtauld Institute Art Gallery, no. 116, central panel of a dispersed triptych Two angels play harp (?) and psaltery.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:123 (as at Highnam Court; attributed to Lorenzo di Niccolò);
BoskovitsPF, p. 347 (pl. 1454a; see there for previous attributions); van Marle, 3:500 (attributed to Jacopo di Cione)

271. Coronation of the Virgin, 1410–1415 London, National Gallery, no. 1897, central panel of a dispersed triptych An angel in front of the central figures plays a portative organ. Some of the other angels may sing.

Photo: Museum (detail of the organist) Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:120 (pl. 447); BoskovitsPF, p. 348; DaviesLM, p. 202; FremantleFG, p. 373 (fig. 759); LondonNG Cat, pp. 306–309; SirénLM, pp. 66f. (pl. 24)

272. King David, 1405-1410

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gwynne Andrews Fund and Marquand Funds, and gift of Mrs. Ralph J. Hines by exchange, 1965 (65.14.4), one of a series of four panels depicting prophets

David plays a psaltery.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:120 (pl. 440); BerensonH, p. 140 (pl. 241); BoskovitsPF, p. 350; New York Met Cat, 1:110 (ill. in 2:14); SirénLM, pp. 43f. (pl. 10)

273. The Mocking of Christ
Strasbourg, Musée des Beaux Arts
One man blows a curved horn.
Photo: Museum (attributed to Lorenzo Monaco)
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:92 (attributed to Giovanni dal Ponte); DegenhartCIZ I/1, no. 73 (fig. 196; attributed to anonymous Umbrian); FremantleFG, p. 360 (fig. 736; as Giovanni dal Ponte); LonghiGD, pp. 157f. (pl. 209; attributed to Primo miniatore di Perugia)

Lorenzo Monaco. See also Gaddi (Agnolo) and Giovanni dal Ponte.

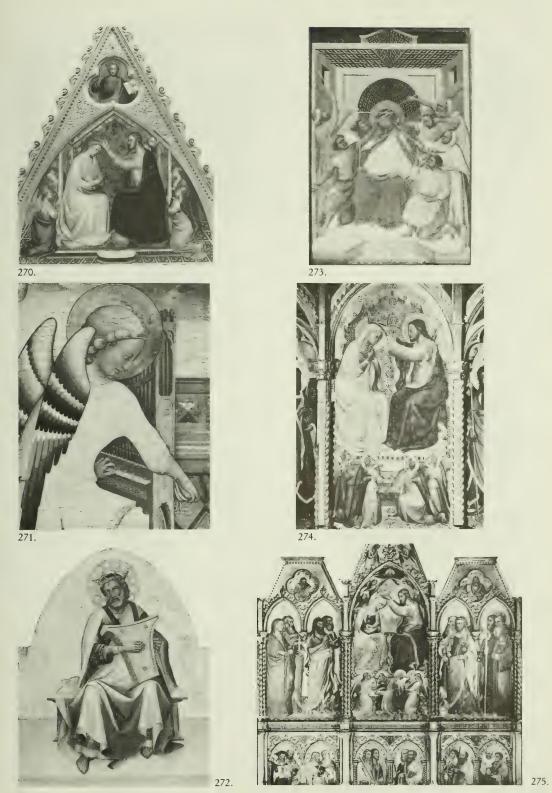
Lorenzo di Niccolò [Gerini] (flourished 1392–1440), Florence

Cortona, S. Domenico, central panel of a polyptych Four angels play psaltery, harp (?), fiddle, and lute (?). Photo: Alinari 42422

274. Coronation of the Virgin, 1402

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:122 (pls. 393–394); FremantleFG, pp. 396f. (figs. 807–808); van Marle, 3:632; SirénAP, p. 187 (ill.)

275. Coronation of the Virgin (on a design by Spinello Aretino), 1401
Florence, Accademia, no. 8468, central panel of a polyptych (with predella panels by Niccolò di Pietro Gerini)
Five angels play trumpet, nakers, bagpipe, lute (or gittern), and fiddle.
Photo: Alinari 1621
Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:122 (pl. 386); BoskovitsPF, p. 435 (pl. 162); van Marle, 3:598–599 (fig. 336); OffnerSF, p. 90



#### (Lorenzo di Niccolò)

276. Coronation of the Virgin, 1408-1409 Florence, S. Croce, Cappella Medici, central panel of a triptych Four angels play harp (?), fiddle, lute or

guitar, and psaltery.

Photo: Alinari 3967

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:122 (pl. 396); FremantleFG, p. 393 (fig. 799); van Marle, 3:641 (fig.

276.1 Virgin and Child, ca. 1400

Leningrad, Hermitage, no. 4045, panel painting

Two angels on the frame play lute (or gittern)

and shawm (?).

Photo: LeningradMRM

Bibl.: LasareffFP, pp. 35 f. (fig. 8); Leningrad Cat, pp. 88f. (fig. 57); LeningradMRM, no. 4 (ill.)

277. Coronation of the Virgin, ca. 1400-1405 Formerly Rome, Barsanti Collection, central panel of a dismembered polyptych Four angels play shawm, lute, portative organ, and shawm (or trumpet). Photo: Fototeca Berenson Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 362 (attributed to

Master of the Madonna of 1399); ZeriIPF, p. 51 (attributed to unknown Florentine under strong influence of Agnolo Gaddi)

### Lorenzo di Niccolò, follower of

278. Musical contest between the shepherds Alcesto and Acaten (illustration from Giovanni Boccaccio, Commedia delle ninfe fiorentine, with the coat of arms of the Di Lupo Parra family of Pisa, ca. 1410

New York, Metropolitan Museum, Rogers Fund, no. 26.287.2, birth tray (desco da

parto)

One shepherd plays a shawm.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: AntalFP, pp. 365 and 372 (pl. 155; attributed to Mariotto di Nardo); BerensonCN, 1:7 (attributed to Andrea di Bartolo); Pope-HennessySP, p. 6 (fig. 2; attributed to Master of the Madonna of 1416); ZeriIPF, pp. 54-56 (with ill.)

Lorenzo di Niccolò. See also Antonio Veneziano. Gerini (Niccolò di Pietro). Lorenzo Monaco, Master of S. Verdiana, and also under paintings without attribution: Paris, Louvre, and also: homeless.

Lorenzo Veneziano (second half of the 14th century), Venice

279. Coronation of the Virgin

Cracow, National Museum (Muzeum Narodowe), Czartoryski Collection (no. 1149, cat. 83), panel painting

Five angels play shawm, lute, portative organ, gittern, and shawm.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonV, 1:99; PallucchiniPV, p. 205 (fig. 618; attributed to Jacobello di Bonomo); PuppiJB, pp. 19-30 (attributed to Jacobello di Bonomo)

280. Virgin and Child

Milan, Pinacoteca Brera, no. 988 (formerly Venice, Accademia), central panel of a trip-

On either side of the central figures, two angels play lute and gittern. Below the central figures, four angels play two shawms and two portative organs.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: van Marle, 4:50-51 (fig. 27); Milan Brera CatP, p. 39; PallucchiniPV, p. 178 (detail, fig. 551)













280.

### (Lorenzo Veneziano)

281. Virgin and Child

San Diego, The Fine Arts Gallery, Acq. no. 44:4, lower central panel of a polyptych Four angels play two shawms and two portative organs.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonV, 1:99; PallucchiniPV, p. 172 (fig. 524)

282. Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine, dated 1359

Venice, Accademia, no. 650, panel painting Above the central figures, eight angels play two gitterns, two psalteries, two lutes, and two shawms. Below the central figures, one angel plays a portative organ. On the right, at least one angel sings.

Photo: Alinari 18365

Bibl.: BerensonV, 1:99 (pl. 14); BrownTA, p. 124 (pl. 6); ColettiP, 3:liii-liv (fig. 105); van Marle, 4:49–50 (fig. 26); PallucchiniPV, p. 170 (fig. 508); Symeonides Venice Cat, pp. 28–30 (fig. 4); VavalàPV, p. 117 (fig. 40); Venice Accademia Cat, pl. 7

Luca di Tommè (active between 1356 and 1399), Siena

283. Ascension of Mary Magdalen

Hautecombe Abbey (Savoy), probably a predella panel

Four angels play two fiddles, double recorder, and shawm.

Photo: MeissNTL

Bibl.: ArtGS, pp. 244–246 (ill.); BerensonCN, 1:224; MeissNTL, pp. 47f. (fig. 6; attributed to Master of the Magdalen Legend); SlimMM, p. 461 (fig. 2)

284. Assumption of the Virgin, ca. 1355–1360 New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, no. 1871.12, panel painting

At least six angels, three on either side of the Virgin, appear to be singing.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BenedictisPS, p. 88; BerensonCN, 1:225 (pl. 368); CarliPS, p. 220 (fig. 215; as Luca and Tegliacci); van Marle, 2:481 (fig. 313); Seymour Yale Cat, pp. 79f. (fig. 53)

Mariotto di Nardo (documented from 1394, died 1424), Florence

285. Coronation of the Virgin, ca. 1385–1390 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, no. M. 28, panel painting

Two angels in front of the central figures play lute (?) and psaltery. The other two angels in front of the central figures may also play instruments

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:130; BoskovitsPF, p. 390 (pl. 151a); CambridgeFM Cat, 2:99–100 (pl. 17); Offner III/V, p. 274, no. 28 (attributed to a close follower of Mariotto)

285.1 Virgin and Child with saints and angels, dated 1424

Florence, Serristori Collection, central panel of a triptych

Two angels play harp and psaltery.

Photo: FremantleFG

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:131; BoskovitsPF, pp. 394f.; FremantleFG, p. 453 (fig. 938)





281.









285.



285.1

#### (Mariotto di Nardo)

286. Coronation of the Virgin, dated 1408

The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, no. 208, acc. no. 65.37, panel from a dispersed polyptych (formerly in London, Hatton Garden Church)

Three angels play psaltery, fiddle, and recorder.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:132 (pl. 520); BoskovitsPF, pp. 396f.; Minneapolis Cat, pp. 391–393 (figs. 208a–c); Offner III/V, pp. 243–250

287. Virgin and Child with saints and angels, ca. 1380–1385

New York, Wildenstein Collection (formerly in Berlin, Kaufmann Collection), panel painting

Two angels play psaltery and lute.

Photo: Fototeca Berenson

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:129 (as formerly in Berlin; pl. 526); BoskovitsPF, p. 398 (fig. 476)

288. Virgin and Child with angels (Madonna of Humility), ca. 1415–1420

Sarasota (Florida), Ringling Museum of Art, no. 7, panel painting

Two angels play harp and lute.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:133; BerensonH, p. 123 (pl. 203); BoskovitsPF, p. 401; Sarasota Cat, no. 25, p. 32 (and ill. on p. 34)

289. Nativity, ca. 1385-1390

Vatican, Pinacoteca, no. 102 (formerly no. 18), predella panel from a dispersed polyptych

Four angels play shawms.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:133; BoskovitsPF, p.

400; VaticanPin, pl. 25

## Mariotto di Nardo, studio of

290. Virgin and Child with saints and angels Oxford, Christ Church, no. 18, panel painting

Two angels play psaltery and gittern (?).

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:132; Shaw Oxford Cat,

no. 18

Mariotto di Nardo. See also Lorenzo di Niccolò, and also under manuscripts: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS ital. 568.

Martini, Simone (1280/85-1344), Siena

291. The Investiture of St. Martin, ca. 1330 (?)
Assisi, S. Francesco, Lower Church, fresco
In the right background, two instrumentalists play double recorder and gittern. Behind

them, three men sing. Photo: PaccagniniSM

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:401 (pl. 123); CarliPS, p. 95 (figs. 109 and 110); CarliPSS, pl. 18; CarliSP, pls. 28 and 32; ColettiP, 2:pl. 54; della PortaIMU, no. 35, pp. 109f. (pl. 35); MarianiSM, pl. 9; van Marle, 2:200–213 (figs. 137 and 138); PaccagniniSM, pp. 139–158 (pl. 24 and fig. 61); WeigeltSP, p. 25 (pls. 51 and 52)











## (Martini, Simone)

292. Death of St. Martin, ca. 1330 (?)

Assisi, S. Francesco, Lower Church, fresco Above the central scene, four angels, who appear to be singing, carry St. Martin to Heaven

Photo: PaccagniniSM

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:401; CarliPS, p. 101 (fig. 115); HammersteinME, pl. 82; van Marle, 2:200–213 (fig. 141); PaccagniniSM, pp. 139–158 (fig. 67)

293. Funeral of St. Martin, ca. 1330 (?)

Assisi, S. Francesco, Lower Church, fresco On the right, behind St. Martin's body, two monks sing.

Photo: PaccagniniSM

Bibl.: BeenkenU, p. 82; BerensonCN, 1:401; CarliPS, p. 102 (fig. 116); CarliSP, pl. 30; della PortaIMU, no. 34, pp. 107f. (pl. 34); van Marle, 2:200–213 (fig. 143 and pl. opposite p. 210); PaccagniniSM, pp. 139–158 (pl. 30 and fig. 68); WeigeltSP, p. 27 (pls. 55 and 56)

294. Virgin and Child with four saints

Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, no. P15e4, polyptych

In the two pinnacles at either end, an angel blows a trumpet.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:401; Boston Gardner Cat, pp. 236–238 (ill.); CastelnuovoPI, pp. 75–77 (figs. 55–58); PaccagniniSM, p. 124 (fig. 38)

295. Death of St. Louis of Toulouse, dated 1317 Naples, Museo di Capodimonte, predella panel

Behind the body of St. Louis, two monks

Photo: Napoli, Soprintendenza ai beni arti-

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:402; CarliPS, p. 88 (fig. 99); van Marle, 2:182–186 (fig. 123); PaccagniniSM, pp. 105–107 (fig. 14)

Martini, Simone. See also Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni.

Martino di Bartolomeo. See under homeless paintings without attribution.

Martino da Verona (flourished second half of the 14th century), Verona

296. Coronation of the Virgin Verona, S. Stefano, fresco On the left, three angels play portative organ, fiddle, and lute (or gittern). On the right,

four angels play lute and three shawms. Photo: Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library

Bibl.: VavalàPV, pp. 231 f. (fig. 96)

Martino da Verona. See also Altichiero da Zevio.

Maso di Banco (flourished 1341-1350), Florence

297. Coronation of the Virgin

Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 7793, panel painting

Eight angels play two tambourines, shawm, two fiddles, lute (?), portative organ, and double recorder.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:135 (pl. 135); BoskovitsEIP, no. 5 (ill.); GiottoAP, 2:91 (with summary of attributions); GiottoCP, p. 123 (fig. 170, with summary of attributions); LonghiGD, p. 95 (pl. 106c)













259

### (Maso di Banco)

298. Last Judgment: Resurrection of a member of the Bardi family

Florence, S. Croce, Bardi Chapel, fresco

Two angels play trumpets.

Photo: Brogi 6981

Bibl.: AntalFP, p. 170 (pl. 23); BerensonF, 1:135 (pl. 154); FremantleFG, p. 132 (fig. 264); LadisTG, p. 137 (fig. 50); van Marle, 3:418; SirénG, 1:198–199 (pl. 172)

299. Coronation of the Virgin

Florence, S. Croce, Museo dell'opera, fresco lunette

On the right, an angel plays a fiddle. The left side, which might also have included an angel musician, is damaged.

Photo: Alinari 44415

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:136 (pl. 152); LadisTG, p. 49 (fig. 23)

Master of the Altenburg Last Supper. See Gaddi (Agnolo).

Master of the Arte della Lana Coronation (active in the second half of the 14th century), Florence

300a-b. Coronation of the Virgin

Florence, Palazzo dell'Arte della Lana, tabernacle, lunette above Virgin and Child by Jacopo del Casentino

Six angels play four trumpets and two fiddles.

Photo: Brogi 22136-22137

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:138 (pls. 382 and 383, details); BoskovitsPF, p. 408 (fig. 163; attributed to Niccolò di Pietro Gerini); FremantleFG, p. 325 (figs. 665, 668, and 673); van Marle, 3:297–298 and 654 (attributed to Jacopo del Casentino); Offner III/V, p. 248 (pl. 42); OffnerSF, p. 26 (attributed to follower of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini); OffnerSuppl, p. 78 (attributed to later and remoter Gerineschi)

Master of the Arte della Lana Coronation. See also Gerini (Niccolò di Pietro), Jacopo di Cione, and Master of S. Verdiana.









300Ъ.

- Master of the Ashmolean Predella (Maestro della Predella dell'Ashmolean Museum) (active third quarter of the 14th century), Florence
- 301. Virgin and Child with saints and angels, ca. 1365–1370

Rome, formerly in the collection of the Prince Marcantonio Colonna

Two angels play fiddle and psaltery.

Photo: OffnerSuppl

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:162, (pl. 319; attributed to Niccolò di Tommaso); BoskovitsPF, p. 375; OffnerSuppl, p. 20 (fig. 37)

- Master of the Assumption (Maestro dell'Assunta). See under paintings without attribution: Pisa, Camposanto.
- Master of the Bargello (Maestro del Bargello) (active second half of the 14th century), Florence
- 302. Virgin and Child, ca. 1360–1365
  Impruneta, Collegiata di Santa Maria, Baptistery, central panel of a polyptych
  Two angels play fiddle and psaltery.
  Photo: Brogi 21329
  Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:214 (as follower of Nardo di Cione); BoskovitsPF, p. 356 (pl. 56); van Marle, 3:490 (as school of Nardo di Cione)
- Master of the Biadaiolo Illuminations (The Biadaiolo Illuminator). See under paintings without attribution: New York, Metropolitan Museum, and under manuscript illuminations: Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, and New York, Wildenstein Gallery.
- Master of the Blessed Clare (active mid-14th century), Rimini
- 303. Adoration of the Magi, ca. 1340
  Coral Gables (Florida), Joe and Emily Lowe
  Art Gallery, University of Miami, no.
  61.018.000, panel painting
  In the background, five angels sing.
  Photo: Museum
  Bibl.: ShapleyPK, p. 70 (pl. 187); VolpePR,
  pp. 36, 48, and 86 (fig. 283)

- Master of the Bracciolini Chapel (active second half of the 14th century), Florence
- 304. Coronation of the Virgin
  Muncie (Indiana), Ball State University, no.
  45-CA-4d, panel painting
  Two angels play lute and gittern.
  Photo: Museum
  Bibl.: BrunettiAC, pp. 221-244
- Master of the Bracciolini Chapel. See also under paintings of unknown attribution: Pistoia, S. Francesco.
- Master Calenzano (Maestro di Calenzano). See Jacopo di Cione.
- Master of the Christ Church Coronation (Maestro dell'Incoronazione Christ Church) (active second half of the 14th century), Florence (placed by Offner as among the Cionesque masters)
- 305. Coronation of the Virgin
  Formerly in Florence, Acton Collection,
  panel painting
  Four angels play two trumpets and two
  fiddles.

Photo: OffnerSuppl Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 212 (fig. 152); Offner-Suppl, p. 30 (fig. 52)

306. Coronation of the Virgin
Formerly in Florence, Luigi Bellini Gallery,
panel painting

Four angels play two trumpets and two fiddles.

Photo: OffnerSuppl

Bibl.: OffnerSuppl, p. 30 (fig. 53)



## (Master of the Christ Church Coronation)

307. Coronation of the Virgin
Formerly in Leningrad, Hermitage, no. 1851,
panel painting
Two angels play instruments.
Photo: none available
Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 212; OffnerSuppl, p.
30; reproduced in >Imperatorskij Ermitage –
Albom Kartinskoj Gallerej (St. Petersburg
[Leningrad] 1912), pl. 171 (not seen)

308. Virgin and Child with saints and angels Formerly in Rome, Ludovic de Spiridon Collection, panel painting
Two angels play portative organ and fiddle.
Photo: OffnerSuppl
Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 212; OffnerSuppl, p. 30 (fig. 56)

Master of the Christ Church Coronation. See also Orcagna.

Master of the Convento del T. See Niccolò di Tommaso.

Master of the Dominican Effigies. See under manuscript illuminations: Washington, National Gallery.

Master of the Dormition of Terni (active 1370–1400), Terni, Spoleto

309. Coronation of the Virgin
Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, acc. no. J. 123, panel painting
At the top of the painting, two angels, who have been almost completely trimmed away, play fiddle (?) and lute.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:290 (as Ottaviano Nelli); van Marle, 8:345 (as wrongly attributed to Nelli); Philadelphia Cat, p. 52 (pl. 123); ZeriTA, pp. 33f. (fig. 1b)

310. Virgin and Child with Eve Spoleto, S. Gregorio Maggiore, detached

esco

Two angels play portative organ and fanciful harp.

Photo: ZeriTA

Bibl.: dellaPortaIMU, no. 30, pp. 97f. (pl. 30); ZeriTA, pp. 34f. (fig. 9)

Master of the Fabriano Altarpiece. See Puccio di Simone.

Master of the Giraldi Tabernacle. See Master of S. Verdiana.

Master of the Lazzaroni Madonna (Maestro della Madonna Lazzaroni) (second half of the 14th century), Florence (placed by Offner among the Cionesque masters)

311. Coronation of the Virgin
Sold in Brussels, Duchange sale (1923), central panel of a triptych
Two angels play fiddle and lute.
Photo: OffnerSuppl
Bibl.: OffnerSuppl, p. 37 (fig. 66)

312. Coronation of the Virgin
Florence, Acton Collection, panel painting
Four angels play two fanciful psalteries,
tambourine, and double recorder.
Photo: BoskovitsPF

Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 239 (fig. 416); Offner-Suppl, p. 14 (as Walters Orcagnesque master)













## (Master of the Lazzaroni Madonna)

313. Virgin and Child with saints and angels Sold in Vienna, Dorotheum (1910), central panel of a triptych Two angels play psalteries (?).

Photo: OffnerSuppl

Bibl.: OffnerSuppl, p. 38 (fig. 69)

Master of the Life of St. John the Baptist (died before 1365), Rimini

314. Feast of Herod

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, no. 1975 (1975.1.103), panel painting

Salome dances in the foreground.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:357 (pl. 205); ChristiansenFCI, pp. 42f. (figs. 40 and 41); New York Met Cat, 1:119 (ill. in 2:79); VolpePR, pp. 38f. and 81 (fig. 187)

Master of the Louvre Coronation, See Master of S. Verdiana.

Master of the Madonna of 1399 (Maestro della Madonna del 1399). Same as Metropolitan Master of 1394. See under Lorenzo di Niccolò, and also under paintings without attribution: Berlin (DDR), Staatliche Museen, Florence, Museo nazionale del Bargello, and New York, Metropolitan Museum.

Master of the Madonna of 1416. See Lorenzo di Niccolò.

Master of the Magdalen Legend. See Luca di Tommè.

Master of the Manassei Chapel (Maestro della Cappella Manassei) (second half of the 14th century), Florence

315. Virgin and Child with saints and angels São Paulo (Brazil), Museo nacional de Bellas

Two angels play shawms or recorders.

Photo: BoskovitsPF

Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 241 (fig. 420)

Master of the Ovile Madonna (Maestro d'Ovile, »Ugolino Lorenzetti«, or possibly Bartolomeo Bulgarini) (active ca. 1320-1360 [Bulgarini died in 1378]), Siena

316. Assumption of the Virgin, ca. 1350-1360 Siena, Pinacoteca nazionale no. 61, panel

> Sixteen angels play 4 trumpets, two nakers, pipe and tabor, harp, lute, cymbals, double recorder, short shawm, portative organ, psaltery, fiddle, and recorder (?).

Photo: Foto Grassi

Bibl.: BeenkenU, p. 75; BerensonCN, 1:436 (as »Ugolino Lorenzetti«); CarliPS, p. 218 (fig. 252); DeWaldMO, passim (fig. 30); van Marle, 2:330 (fig. 216); TorritiPNS, pp. 138f. (pls. 142 and 143); VanOsMD, passim

Master of the Ovile Madonna, See also Spinello Aretino.

Master of the Padiglioni (Maestro dei Padiglioni). See under paintings without attribution: Venzone, Cathedral.

Master of the Pentecost. See Orcagna.

Master of the Prato Annunciation (active in the second half of the 14th century), Florence

317. Marriage of St. Catherine

Paris, Musées nationaux, Campana Collection, no. 75 (formerly Louvre, no. 1664), panel painting

Two angels play portative organ and psal-

Photo: Paris, Documentation photographique de la Réunion des musées nationaux Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 227; van Marle, 3:632; Offner III/V, pp. 141, 228, and 289 (as follower of Jacopo di Cione or Orcagna); OffnerSuppl, p. 49; Paris Hautecoeur, p. 62 (as school of Gerini)

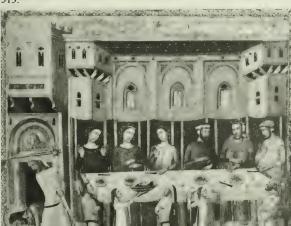
Master of the Prato Annunciation. See also Jacopo di Cione.

Master of the Rinuccini Chapel (Maestro della cappella Rinuccini, perhaps Matteo di Pacino) (active in the third quarter of the 14th century), Florence

318. Presentation of the Virgin, ca. 1365-1370 Florence, S. Croce, Rinuccini Chapel, fresco Among the crowd of women coming out to greet the Virgin, one girl carries a lute. Photo: Alinari 54503

Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:143; BellosiDN, p. 180 (as Matteo di Pacino); BettiniGM, fig. 26;













318.

## (Master of the Rinuccini Chapel)

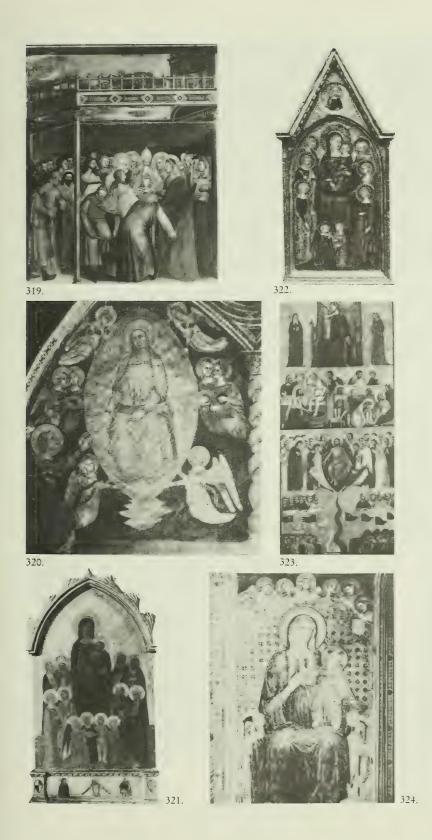
BoskovitsPF, p. 358 (pl. 59, with a summary of previous attributions to Giovanni da Milano, Matteo di Pacino, and anonymous); FremantleFG, pp. 195f. (figs. 385 and 386); OertelWZ, p. 237 (pl. 9); ToescaPML, p. 222 (fig. 165); and see under drawings and manuscript illuminations in Paris, Louvre, for a drawing based on this painting

- 319. Wedding of the Virgin, ca. 1365–1370
  Florence, S. Croce, Rinuccini Chapel, fresco
  On the right, one woman plays a psaltery.
  Photo: Alinari 3954
  Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:143; BoskovitsPF,
  p. 358; FremantleFG, p. 197 (fig. 389);
  LadisTG, p. 29 (fig. 12); OffnerSF, pp. 109–126 (fig. 14)
- 320. Assumption of the Virgin, ca. 1365–1370
  Florence (environs of), S. Donato in Polverosa, ex-church, detached fresco
  Four angels play two psalteries and two lutes or gitterns.
  Photo: BoskovitsPF
  Bibl.: BellosiDN, p. 182 (as Matteo di Pacino); BoskovitsPF, p. 358 (fig. 58); Offner IV/IV, p. 129 (as Master of the S. Croce Cloister)
- Master of the Rinuccini Chapel. See also Giovanni del Biondo.
- Master of Rohoncz Castle (Rohoncz Orcagnesque Master) (active in the last quarter of the 14th century; perhaps the same as Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni), Florence
- 321. Virgin and Child with saints and angels, ca. 1375–1380

  Cortona, Museo dell'Accademia Etrusca, no. 6119, central panel of a tabernacle
  Four angels play fanciful harp-psaltery, lute, double recorder, and psaltery.
  Photo: Museum (attributed to Jacopo di Cione)
  Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 286 (as Cenni di Francesco; with a summary of previous attributions); OffnerSuppl, p. 51

322. Virgin and Child with saints and angels Formerly in Florence, Volterra Collection Two angels play shawm and psaltery. Photo: OffnerSuppl Bibl.: OffnerSuppl, p. 51 (fig. 115)

- Master of Rohoncz Castle. See also Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni (no. 78 is listed in OffnerSuppl, p. 52, as formerly in New York, Collection of Princess Eugenia Ruspoli).
- Master of S. Agostino (Maestro del coro di S. Agostino) (active in the first half of the 14th century), Rimini
- 323. Last Judgment
  Munich, Alte Pinakothek, Inv. no. WAF 837,
  bottom half of one panel of a diptych
  One angel plays a trumpet.
  Photo: Museum
  Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:357 (as Riminese trecento); van Marle, 4:284 (figs. 140 and 141;
  as Riminese trecento); MedeaISR, fig. 10 (as
  Riminese trecento); Munich Cat, pp. 424f.
  (ill.; as Riminese trecento); VolpePR, pp.
  31–35 and 77f. (figs. 154, 155, and 158)
- 324. Virgin and Child with angels
  Rimini, S. Agostino, fresco
  At least two or three angels above the central
  figures sing.
  Photo: VolpePR
  Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:359 (as Rimini trecento); MarcheselliP, pl. II; van Marle, 4:308;
  VolpePR, pp. 31–35 and 77 (fig. 133)



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### (Master of S. Agostino)

325a-b. Life of St. John the Evangelist: the raising of Drusiana, the journey to Ephesus, St. John on Patmos

Rimini, S. Agostino, fresco

Scattered among the three scenes are seven figures playing trumpets (that is, the trumpets of the Apocalypse). On the journey to Ephesus, one figure in the boat plays a shawm or recorder, and another plays pipe and tabor.

Photo: Alinari 30417-30418

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:359 (as Riminese trecento); MarcheselliP, pls. III and IV; van Marle, 4:308-310 (fig. 157); VolpePR, pp. 31-35 and 77 (figs. 144-148)

326. Life of St. John the Evangelist: his death and ascension

Rimini, S. Agostino, fresco

The saint is received into heaven by angels. three of whom play lute and shawm (on the right), and fiddle (on the left). Others may also play instruments.

Photo: Alinari 37411

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:359 (as Riminese trecento); van Marle, 4:308; VolpePR, pp. 31-35 and 77 (figs. 149-151)

Master of S. Cecilia, See Giotto.

Master of the S. Croce Cloister. See Master of the Rinuccini Chapel.

Master of the S. Lucchese Altarpiece (Master of the S. Lucchese Coronation). See Orcagna.

Master of S. Martino alla Palma (active ca. 1330-1350), Florence

327. The Ascension of Christ

Ajaccio (Corsica), Musée Palais Fesch, panel painting

Two angels play trumpets.

Photo: Offner

Bibl.: Offner III/VIII, p. 126 (pl. XXXIV)

328. Last Judgment

The New York Historical Society, acc. no. 1867.7 (B-7), Bryan Collection, right wing of a diptych

Two angels play trumpets.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: Offner III/V, pp. 17-19 (pl. III)

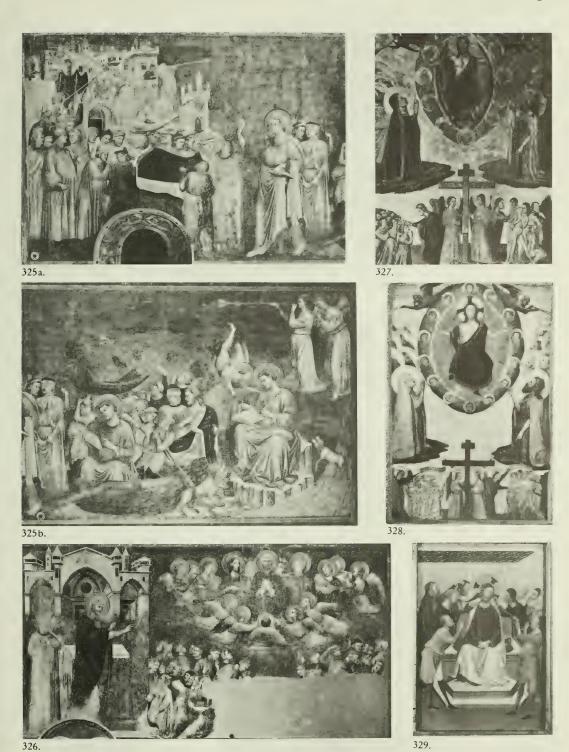
329. The Mocking of Christ

Formerly Manchester, Barlow Collection Two men play curved horns.

Photo: Alinari 43485

Bibl.: Florence Uffizi Cat DT, no. 174;

Offner III/V, p. 24 (pl. IV)



- Master of S. Martino a Mensola (active in the last quarter of the 14th century), Florence
- 330. Virgin and Child with angels, dated 1385 Florence, Acton Collection, probably the central panel of a dismembered polyptych Two angels play portative organ and fiddle. Photo: Alinari 594/40 Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 380 (pl. 134a); FremantleFG, p. 283 (fig. 581); KlesseM, p. 249 (fig. 3)
- Master of S. Niccolò (Maestro dell'altare di S. Niccolò) (active towards the middle of the 14th century), Florence
- 331. Virgin and Child with saints and angels Florence, private collection, panel painting Two angels play fiddle and shawm. Photo: BoskovitsPF Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 212 (fig. 150); Offner-Suppl, p. 89 (as Niccolò di Tommaso)
- Master of S. Peter (S. Peter Master). See Guido da Siena.
- Master of S. Ursula (active in the second half of the 14th century), Pisa
- 332. Virgin and Child with angels
  Pisa, Museo nazionale di S. Matteo, Inv. no.
  37, panel painting
  Two angels play rebecs.
  Photo: CarliPPT
  Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:28 (as signed by Barnaba da Modena); CarliPPT, 2:72–76 (pl. 133, as no. 89 in the museum)

- Master of S. Verdiana (active ca. 1370-ca. 1400), Florence
- 333. Wedding of the Virgin, ca. 1390–1395
  Bergamo, Accademia Carrara, no. 311, predella panel
  On the right, two men play trumpets.
  Photo: Museum (musical detail only)
  Bibl.: Bergamo Cat, pp. 11–13 (as Agnolo Gaddi); BoskovitsMSV, pp. 44–46 (fig. 11);
  BoskovitsPF, p. 382 (fig. 348)
- 334. Virgin and Child in glory with saints and angels, ca. 1380–1385
  Birmingham (Alabama), Museum of Art, no. 61.96 (Kress K261), panel painting
  Two angels play fiddle and gittern.
  Photo: Museum
  Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 383 (pl. 106); Cole-AG, p. 71; FremantleFG, p. 299 (fig. 609);
  OffnerSuppl, p. 43 (as Master of the Louvre Coronation); ShaplevPK, p. 41 (fig. 104)
- 335. Virgin and Child with saints and angels, ca. 1380–1385
  Budapest, Kartschmaroff Collection, central panel of a triptych
  Two angels play psaltery and lute.
  Photo: Budapest Museum of Fine Arts
  Bibl.: BoskovitsMSV, p. 44 (fig. 10); BoskovitsPF, p. 383



## (Master of S. Verdiana)

336. Virgin and Child with saints and angels, ca. 1380–1385

Florence, Museo Stibbert, no. 10294, panel

Two angels play bagpipe and double recorder

Photo: Alinari 22134

Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 384; FremantleFG, p. 302 (fig. 617); OffnerSuppl, p. 44 (as Master of the Louvre Coronation)

337. Virgin and Child with saints and angels, ca.

Avignon, Musée du Petit Palais, MI 363, Campana Collection, no. 35 (formerly Louvre, no. 1316), central panel of a triptych Two angels play portative organ and psaltery.

Photo: Paris, Documentation photographique de la Réunion des musées nationaux Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:138 (as Master of the Arte della Lana Coronation); BerensonH, p. 132 (fig. 226; tentatively attributed to Lorenzo di Niccolò Gerini); BoskovitsPF, p. 387 (pl. 108; with summary of previous attributions); FremantleFG, pp. 225–227 (figs. 454 and 462; as Master of the Giraldi tabernacle); van Marle, 3:629 (fig. 355; as follower of Gerini); OffnerSuppl, p. 46 (as Master of the Louvre Coronation)

Master of S. Verdiana. See also (Gerini Niccolò di Pietro).

Master of the Stefaneschi Altarpiece. See Giotto.

- Master of the Straus Madonna (Maestro della Madonna Straus) (active at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries), Florence
- 338. Virgin and Child with saints and angels, ca. 1400–1405

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.729, panel painting

Two angels play fiddles.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BerensonH, pp. 125f. (pl. 207; as Agnolo Gaddi); BoskovitsPF, p. 362; FremantleFG, p. 305 (fig. 621); Zeri Baltimore Cat, 1:no. 17 (pl. 13)

339. Virgin and Child with angels and Christ the Redeemer, ca. 1390–1395
Formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, no. 1118 (destroyed in 1945), panel painting Two angels play fiddles.
Photo: Berlin (DDR), Staatliche Museen Bibl.: BerensonF, 1:66 (as Agnolo Gaddi); BoskovitsPF, p. 362 (pl. 147); FremantleFG, p. 307 (fig. 629); MeissPF, p. 139 (pl. 142)

Williamstown (Massachusetts), Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, no. 1968. 304, panel painting
Four angels play double recorder, fiddle, lute, and bagpipe.
Photo: Museum
Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 364 (fig. 470);
Williamstown List, p. 24 (fig. 3)

340. Virgin and Child with angels, ca. 1400-1405

341. Virgin and Child with saints and angels Homeless panel painting
Two angels play portative organs.
Photo: Fototeca Berenson
Bibl.: none

Master of the Straus Madonna. See also Giuliano di Simone da Lucca.

Master of the Vatican Coronation. See paintings without attribution: Auxerre and the Vatican.

Master of the Vele. See Giotto.



- Master of the Virgin of Mercy (Misericordia Master; Maestro della Misericordia) (active third quarter of the 14th century); Florence
- 342. Coronation of the Virgin with saints and angels, ca. 1365–1370
  Balcarres (Fife, Scotland), Earl of Crawford and Balcarres Collection, no. 125, central panel of a triptych
  Two angels play lute and fiddle.
  Photo: Tom Scott of Edinburgh
  Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 367 (fig. 211); Offner III/V, p. 249 (as follower of Orcagna)
- 343. Last Judgment, Deposition of Christ, and Instruments of the Passion, ca. 1365–1370
  Bologna, Pinacoteca nazionale, no. 308, panel painting
  At the Last Judgment, two angels play trumpets.
  Photo: Bologna, Soprintendenza
  Bibl.: BerlinerA, p. 77 (fig. 23; as Bolognese school); BolognaPN (1979), p. 88 (as Pistoiese school); BoskovitsPF, p. 367 (fig. 214)
- Museum, acc. no. 1959.130, predella panel On the left, two men play trumpets. Photo: Museum Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 367 (fig. 223; with summary of previous attributions); Fogg Acq 1959–62, p. 83 (ill.; Agnolo Gaddi); FredericksenC, p. 81 (possibly Gerini)

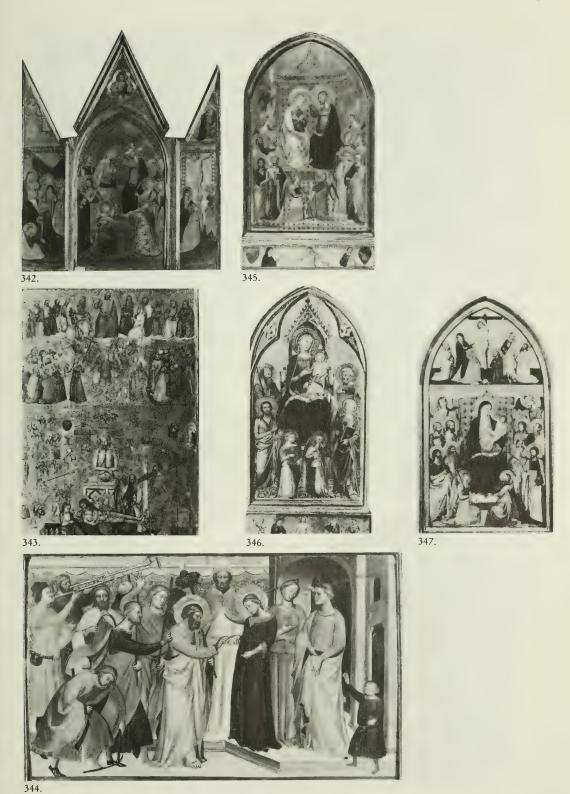
(Massachusetts), Fogg

344. Wedding of the Virgin, ca. 1370-1375

Cambridge

- 345. Coronation of the Virgin with saints and angels, ca. 1375–1380

  Cambridge (Massachusetts), Fogg Art Museum, acc. no. 1962.301 (Lucy Wallace Porter Bequest), panel painting
  Two angels play bagpipe and fiddle.
  Photo: Museum
  Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 367 (with summary of previous attributions to Jacopo di Cione and anonymous Florentine); FredericksenC, p. 218 (as anonymous Florentine); Offner IV/V, p. 61; OffnerSuppl, p. 9
- 346. Virgin and Child with saints and angels, ca. 1365–1370
  Formerly in Frankfurt am Main, Ullmann Collection, panel painting
  Two angels play psaltery and fiddle.
  Photo: OffnerSuppl
  Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 368 (fig. 212); OffnerSuppl, p. 10 (fig. 13)
- 347. Virgin and Child with saints and angels
  Formerly in London, Oppenheimer Collection, panel painting
  Two angels play bagpipe and fiddle.
  Photo: OffnerSuppl
  Bibl.: OffnerSuppl, p. 11 (fig. 19)



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## (Master of the Virgin of Mercy)

348. Coronation of the Virgin with saints and angels, ca. 1380-1385

Winterthur, Reinhart Collection, no. 60, panel painting

Two angels play fiddle and psaltery.

Photo: Fototeca Berenson (attributed to Jacopo di Cione)

Bibl.: BoskovitsPF, p. 371; OffnerSuppl, p. 13

## Matteo di Pacino (possibly the Master of the Rinuccini Chapel) (active 1359-1394), Florence

349. Coronation of the Virgin, dated 1361

Formerly Rome, Stroganoff Collection, central panel of a triptych

Seven angels play two unclear instruments, psaltery, fiddle, portative organ, bagpipe, and trumpet or shawm.

Photo: BellosiDN

Bibl.: BellosiDN, pp. 179f. (fig. 1); BerensonH, pp. 94f. (pl. 142); BoskovitsPF, p. 202; van Marle. 3:406

## Lippo Memmi (active 1317-1357), Siena

350. Assumption of the Virgin, ca. 1340

Munich, Alte Pinakothek, Inv. no. WAF 671,

panel painting

On the top left, David plays a psaltery. Surrounding Mary, sixteen angels play four trumpets, two nakers, two shawms, pipe and tabor, double recorder, cymbals, harp, lute, portative organ, psaltery, and fiddle.

Photo: Museum

Bibl.: BeenkenU, pp. 74–79; BerensonCN, 1:269; BrownTA, p. 127 (pl. 8); BrownTH, pp. 44f. (pl. 5); HammersteinME, pl. 86; MeissPF, p. 21 (fig. 22); van Marle, 2:263; Munich Cat, pp. 497f. (ill.; as Sienese master); VanOsMD, pp. 164–183

351. Virgin and Child (»Madonna del Popolo«), signed

Siena, S. Maria dei Servi, panel painting On the frame of the painting, eight angels in bas relief play shawm, tambourine, fiddle, harp, lute, rebec, cymbals, and bagpipe.

Photo: WeigeltSP

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:270; van Marle, 2:260; WeigeltSP, p. 32 (pl. 65)

352. Angels in the pinnacles of a polyptych, the central panel of which shows the Virgin and Child

Homeless (the central panel is in Siena, Pinacoteca nazionale)

In each of the two pinnacles, an angel plays a trumpet.

Photo: BerensonCN

Bibl.: BerensonCN, 1:270 (pls. 316–318); SteinwegB, p. 165 (figs. 6 and 7); TorritiPNS, p. 88

## Lippo Memmi. See also Duccio.

## Memmo di Filipuccio (active 1294–1326)

353. Last Judgment

San Gimignano, Collegiata di S. Maria Assunta

Two angels play trumpets.

Photo: GrahamSA

Bibl.: GrahamSA, pp. 39–42 (ill. opposite p. 40); van Marle, 2:166 (as Taddeo di Bartolo)

Memmo di Filipuccio. See also Cenni di Francesco di Ser Cenni.



Meo da Siena (active 1319–1333), Siena and Perugia, follower of

354. Christ on the Way to Calvary Subiaco, Sacro Speco, fresco Two men on horseback play trumpets.

Photo: Alinari 26230

Bibl.: BoskovitsPU, p. 36 (with summary of previous attributions); van Marle, 5:36-44

355. Carrying of the Bier and Assumption of the Virgin

Subiaco, Sacro Speco, fresco

In heaven, Christ and the Virgin are surrounded by angels, six of whom play two double recorders, pipe and tabor, rebec (or bowed gittern), shawm, and lute.

Photo: Alinari 26256

Bibl.: BoskovitsPU, p. 36 (with summary of previous attributions); van Marle, 5:36–44 (fig. 28); MeissRA, pp. 85–87 (fig. 9)

356. Christ's Entry into Jerusalem Subiaco, Sacro Speco, fresco

In the background, a child plays a shawm while five children sing and dance in a circle. Among the crowd welcoming Christ are two figures (children?) who sing »Benedictus qui venit« (the phrase is written into the painting as coming from their mouths).

Photo: Alinari 26224

Bibl.: BoskovitsPU, p. 36 (with summary of previous attributions); van Marle, 5:36-44

357. Ascension of Christ

Subiaco, Sacro Speco, fresco

Among the angels surrounding Christ in heaven, at least six sing, and four play rebec (or bowed gittern), shawm, double recorder, and lute.

Photo: Alinari 26227

Bibl.: BoskovitsPU, p. 36 (with summary of previous attributions); van Marle, 5:36-44

#### 358. Crucifixion

Subiaco, Sacro Speco, fresco

On the lower left, two men on horseback play trumpets, and (in the extreme lower left) a man holds what appears to be a drum. On the right (middle), a man plays a curved horn.

Photo: Alinari 26232

Bibl.: BoskovitsPU, p. 36 (with summary of previous attributions); van Marle, 5:36-44









355. 358.



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# Bibliographia

## 1981-1983

This list mainly covers the years 1981–1983 but also includes earlier publications which were not mentioned in volume I; a few items that have already been listed previously appear here again marked with \* because of new reviews which they received in the meantime.

The bibliography was compiled by Miss Frieda Woodruff, Duke University, Mr. Terence Ford, RIdIM New York, Dr. Monika Holl, RIdIM Munich, and Ms. Caroline Usher, Duke University. Miss Woodruff also typed the manuscript. I am very grateful to all of them.

T.S.

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- Bartsch, I., and M. Jelonek, Hommage à Picasso. Kubismus und Musik [Exhibition catalogue] (Bochum 1981).
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#### Depictions on Musical Instruments

See: Music and Art Libin; Rueger

> Iconography Dixon; Rueger; Tong

Portrait Iconography Rueger

Organology

Dixon; Fischer; Libin; Penney; Renouf; Rueger; Schrammek; Thornton; Tong; Tsuge; Tuchscherer; Žuravleva

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Tilman Seebass Editor

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Edmund A. Bowles, Musikleben im 15. Jahrhundert (Leipzig 1977), p. 149 (= Musikgeschichte in Bildern, vol. 3, fasc. 8)

Friedrich Winkler, Gerard David und die Brügger Miniaturmalerei seiner Zeit, in: Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft 6 (1913), pp. 271–280.

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# Imago Musicae Annuaire international d'iconographie musicale

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